

DOCTORAL THESIS

A discursive analysis of how White trainee counselling psychologists construct their experience of training in the area of racial difference and negotiate their own potential for racial prejudice within the therapeutic encounter

O'Driscoll, Sharon

Award date:
2013

Awarding institution:
University of Roehampton

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**A discursive analysis of how White trainee
counselling psychologists construct their experience
of training in the area of racial difference and
negotiate their own potential for racial prejudice
within the therapeutic encounter.**

By

Sharon. T. O'Driscoll BSc

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of PsychD

Department of Psychology
University of Roehampton
2013

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Acknowledgements

I am immensely grateful to my Supervisor Dr Anastasios Gaitanidis for his wonderful ideas and sensitive layering of critique, and to my Director of Studies Dr Paul Dickerson for his relaxed approach to analysis, enabling me to keep it all right sized.

Also, a massive thank you to Professor Del Loewenthal for believing in me when I was unable to do so myself.

Special thanks also to all of the following
whose assistance was most valuable in many and varied ways:

Professor Z.G. Baranski, Michael Beattie, Kate Al-Obaid, Michael O'Driscoll,
Dr Stephen Munt, Rachel McKail, James Andrews, Kathy and Stan Portway,
Stef O'Driscoll, The Malone Family, Lucy Hammond,
Sue Amico, Sam Collins
& Herbie

Finally, I will be forever indebted to my participants,
who had the courage to talk
when others would not.

Abstract

In response to a perceived lack in this area, this study has investigated how White trainee counselling psychologists construct their experience of training in the area of racial difference, and how they discursively explore and negotiate their own potential for racial prejudice within the therapeutic encounter. Using the framework of Critical Discursive Psychology (CDP), data from eight interviews and two focus groups have been discursively analysed and are presented as one of an ever evolving number of possible analyses.

The present analysis of the data has found that as the participants grapple with their professional identities as counselling psychologists in training, they inhabit one of three omnipresent discursive fields, which in turn create distinct subject positions. The discursive fields of 'colour-blindness', 'interculturalism' and 'pluralism' all offer the trainees alternative constructions of practice which are drawn on depending on which professional representation appears to be at stake. In particular, the participants struggle to balance the desire for value free openness associated with a pluralistic approach, alongside a need for professional competency characterised by a dependence upon generalised understandings of other racialised groups as supported by an intercultural perspective. However, whilst trainees themselves wrestle with matters of ethics and competence, the present analysis highlights the unintended contributions to racism and racial prejudice which are created when the trainees inhabit alternative discursive fields and their related subject positions.

Throughout this process of professional positioning, this study identifies how incidents of racial prejudice appear in the trainees talk, both directly and indirectly. This deconstructive process offers a window into the presence of unintentional racism, and generates some suggestions for the practical application of the findings presented. In addition, via a reflective process these findings are discussed and there is a questioning of the methods used, including an examination of how the interviews/focus groups were conducted and how the data were analysed.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Definition of Terms

For the definition of terms I am greatly indebted to Lago (2006, p. 239 - 243) for his collection of descriptions of the terms drawn on in the UK today. At the outset I would like to recognise that much of the literature cited in the present study suggests that 'race' is a definitive category which exists without question. Conversely, biological evidence suggests that the notion of 'race' is a fallacy (Malik, 1996). Lago (2006) is concerned that the use of the term 'race' legitimises it as a valid concept. Conversely, Tuckwell (2002) acknowledges that 'race' must be openly acknowledged as a political and social reality since failure to do so allows racial prejudice and discrimination to be avoided or ignored. In order to acknowledge that there is no simple definition of 'race' and that it is part of an ever developing racial discourse (Malik, 1996); quotation marks when the word 'race' is employed recognise that this is a social construction and not a fixed concept.

The terms 'ethnic', 'ethnicity' or 'ethnic group' are also categorising constructions drawn on to address differences observed between people. Lago (2006) citing Yinger (1976, p. 200) describes an 'ethnic group' as "a segment of a larger society whose members are thought, by themselves and/or others, to have a common origin and to share important segments of a common culture and who, in addition, participate in shared activities in which the common origin and culture are significant ingredients" (p. 240). Here the use of the term 'culture' is introduced which is also used to identify similarity and dissimilarity between individuals and groups.

Lago (2006, p. 239) also draws on two particularly enlightening definitions of culture. Carter (1995, p. 12) suggests that "Culture is defined as the transmission of knowledge, skills, attitudes, behaviours and language from one generation to the next...culture is a learned behaviour". Likewise, Valentine (1968) proposes "The culture of a particular people or other social body is everything one must learn in order to behave in ways that are recognisable, predictable and understandable to those people".

It is argued by Markus (2008) that the terms 'race' and 'ethnicity' have historically been specifically mobilised to draw distinctions between the White majority and people of colour. This too can be said of the term 'culture', however, contemporary discourse has evolved to

incorporate both a macro and micro view of 'culture', making us all products of many and varied shared understandings. To this end the terms 'culture' and 'ethnicity' are no longer simply relevant to people who are not White, but have evolved to include White people of alternative cultural backgrounds such as Irish, Jewish, Polish, Turkish and Travelling People. This said, for the purpose of this study all three terms, 'race', 'culture' and 'ethnic', are used interchangeably to represent groups of people who are not considered by themselves and/or others to be 'White British'. In addition, 'culture' and 'ethnicity' are also rejected as knowable fixed categories and will be presented within quotation marks.

The term 'White British' has been straightforwardly defined as people who would be considered by themselves and/or by others to be such. When recruiting participants for this study the researcher asked the participants to self-define as White British and has not imposed any definition of her own on their suitability to participate. Seven of the eight participants were born and raised in the UK and spent most, if not all, of their adult life in the UK. The eighth participant was born and raised outside the UK. However, they had been resident within the UK for over 30 years.

The term 'Black' has been used sparingly throughout this study and most predominantly when replicating the term as used within previous research in this area. Robinson (2001, p. 193) notes "The term 'black' is used extensively in the literature and has been used to describe people from South Asian, African and Caribbean backgrounds. In the UK, members of Asian groups claim they are not 'black' as part of their struggle to assert their own identity in historical, cultural, ethical and linguistic terms". In an effort to recognise this distinction the term 'BME' (Black Minority Ethnic) has developed which identifies those who belong to 'cultural', racialised or 'ethnic' social groups which would be considered 'minoritised' in terms of their relative positions of power and influence within the United Kingdom. "This includes groups visible on the basis of their skin colour, as well as others such as Irish, Jewish, Polish, Turkish and Travelling People" (Nadirshaw & Goddard, 1999, cited in Lago, 2006, p. 241).

However, neither of these descriptions can be considered satisfactory as they both diminish the diversity between different groups, and conceal prejudices which may exist or occur between these groups. For the purpose of this study, I apologise if the use of such terms offends, however, they have been utilized to recognise people who are not part of the dominant racialised group, in this case 'White British'. The terms Black, White and BME

have been capitalized in an effort to demonstrate respect to all groups, and whilst these are also not knowable fixed categories, they will not be marked with quotation marks.

Finally, the terms 'racism' and 'racial prejudice' are used interchangeably to recognise "any behaviour or pattern of behaviour that systematically tends to deny access to opportunities or privilege to one social group while perpetuating privilege to members of another group" (Ridley, 1989, p. 60). Although these terms are also recognised as social constructs, they will not be marked with quotation marks in recognition of the very real experiences they represent.

Brief Background to the Research Question

Over the last 30 years a substantial body of literature has been devoted to the complexity of issues which arise when White therapists work with clients' from a Black Minority Ethnic (BME) population. However, despite increased awareness, the literature suggests that the field of counselling psychology may still be neglecting the importance of 'race' and racism in the clinical setting (Altman, 2004; Erskine, 2002). 'Racism is defined as a system of cultural, institutional, and personal values, beliefs, and actions in which individuals or groups are put at disadvantage based on ethnic or racial characteristics' (Tinsley-Jones, 2001, p. 573). According to Ryde (2009) racism exists within the "organising principles of one's culture" and the "organising principles" of the individual (p. 14). In this sense racism can continue to subsist beyond conscious awareness because people often unknowingly collude with the legacy that colonialism and White supremacy have left them (Erskine, 2002).

With its emphasis on social justice, counselling psychology has always advocated on behalf of those whose 'cultural' or lifestyle beliefs or behaviours deviate from those endorsed by the hegemonic discourses of the western world (Palmer & Parish, 2008). However, the discipline is unable to remove itself from the surrounding socio-political context and the dominant discourses which maintain the power structures within that context. This paints a complex picture of a discipline fighting for change while using the discursive tools which maintain the unequal status quo. In an effort to illuminate this complexity, the present study offers an analysis of the discourses counselling psychology trainees draw on when discussing their training, self-development and practice in the area of racial difference. This analysis is regarded as one of an ever evolving number of ways of understanding the available discourses and their role in the creation of subject positions which the trainees come to occupy.

Chapter Outlines

Chapter 1 (continues) – Literature Review & Research Aims

The review endeavours to provide the reader with an overview of the many and varied areas which have been informed by the subject of racism and racial prejudice. It begins by identifying studies which have examined issues that arise within intercultural therapy. Further research is introduced which has reported on the cumulative effects of racism and racism as trauma, issues which would welcome therapeutic support. The review continues with the more recent identification of the intersectionality of points of marginalisation, such as sexuality, gender, disability, 'race' and age. Such research establishes the importance of ensuring that additional experiences of prejudice are not overlooked within therapeutic work.

The notion of White awareness is introduced, along with supporting literature which examines how differing levels of racial and cultural awareness, impact upon one's ability as a White counsellor to be therapeutic when working cross-culturally. In addition, the findings of research which has investigated the benefits of training in this area are presented.

Moving towards the method of analysis employed in this study, the review considers studies which have incorporated critically discursive analytical methods to examine racial prejudice. Finally, and more specifically, the focus moves to contemporary research in counselling and psychotherapy which has examined racism and racial prejudice within a critical discursive psychology (CDP) framework that informs the aims of this research project.

Chapter 2 – Methodology

This chapter follows my journey to establish an appropriate method of analysis for the topic under investigation. Once quantitative methods are ruled out, the reasoning behind the rejection of various methods of phenomenological analysis is established. This leads to narrative analysis. Whilst also discounted as an appropriate method for this study, its particular attention to the constructed aspect of identity and experience is considered relevant to this study. Further methods of analysis which investigate the construction of identity more directly are then examined.

Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (CA) are explored but are also deemed not to be entirely relevant to the topic under investigation. However, their influence on methods

of discourse analysis acquainted me with methodological frameworks which are considered as more appropriate for this study. Through the discussion of various discourse analytic frameworks, I am able to describe how I have established CDP as my method of choice.

Chapter 3 – Method

This explanatory section details the research process to allow fuller scrutiny of the study and to enable further exploration. The data collection methods are established, together with a section which provides the rationale for using both interviews and focus groups within this study. This is followed by a relatively detailed exposition of the method of participant recruitment and subsequent research procedures, with particular attention being given to ethical considerations. At this point my approach to, and reasoning for, the level and style of transcription are unpacked. The method section concludes with a description of the analytical process, outlining the steps taken to arrive at the analysis presented.

Chapter 4 – Analysis

An analytical map has been provided at the beginning of the analysis chapter which is not duplicated here. Broadly the analysis is split into four sections. The first section focuses on three discursive fields: *1. Colour-blindness*, *2. Interculturalism*, *3. Pluralism*, and makes the case for their omnipresence within the data obtained for this study.

The following two sections identify subject positions which are related to the above mentioned discursive fields. The first of these sections focuses on five alternative positions, which are constructed when the discourse focuses around expert or naïve practitioners. The subsequent section presents four subject positions, two of which trainees occupy when accounting for the presence of racial prejudice in contemporary discourse. Throughout the analytical process, each subject position's relationship to the previously established discursive fields is emphasised.

The analysis section concludes with a diagram that succinctly summarises the relationship between the three discursive fields and their associated subject positions, with a final synopsis of the most salient findings from this analysis of the data.

Chapter 5 – Discussion

The thesis concludes with a discussion and critique of various aspects of the research project. The findings are reinterpreted with a reflexive approach, incorporating my own discursive position when conducting the analysis. Attention is drawn to both the positive and negative aspects of the findings, in turn informing some suggestions deemed relevant to counselling psychology.

The discussion then moves to a critique of the methods employed within this research project. After engaging with the strengths and weaknesses of the discursive analytical method, attention is paid to the method of data collection, and I reflexively examine my likely influence on the data collection process.

Finally, the findings are situated in relation to the supporting research presented within the project's literature review, and some suggestions are provided for further research.

Literature Review

To provide some theoretical background I have performed a literature review examining research and theoretical writing which is relevant to this study's area of focus. The review begins with studies which identify issues which may become manifest within intercultural therapy, moving into literature which highlights the traumatic effects of racism. Theorists' who address the intersectionality of aspects of identity which can cause multiple points of marginalisation are represented; their ideas characterised as significant to the therapeutic encounter.

The notion of White awareness is explored and studies which have investigated the training which supports the development of racial awareness are introduced. The remainder of the review examines studies which have employed critically discursive analytical methods to examine racial prejudice, concluding with research specific to the field of counselling and psychotherapy.

Working Therapeutically with Racial Difference

Concerns with the effects of cultural mistrust of White therapists by Black clients were investigated by Watkins, Terrell, Miller and Terrell (1989). The study found that when compared to Black clients who were minimally mistrustful, extremely mistrusting Black clients rated White counsellors as less reliable and less likely to be able to help them with

issues of anxiety, dating, feelings of inferiority and introversion. However, it should be noted that the participants in this study were all students aged 18-22 which makes it difficult to generalise the findings to the wider population. Townes, Chavez-Korell and Cunningham (2009) re-examined these issues with regard to Black clients' preference for a Black counsellor. Along with racial identity and help-seeking attitudes, cultural mistrust significantly predicted participants' preference for a Black counsellor. Additionally, Thompson, Worthington and Atkinson (1994) discovered that Black clients were reluctant to self-disclose to White therapists when they culturally mistrusted White people.

Equally, an article by Ayonrinde (1999) looked at the dynamics between Black psychiatrists working with White and Black clients. He suggests that internalised racism can cause Black clients to associate White Doctors with a superior level of care to Black Doctors. He also notes that racial matching can be ineffective or counterproductive, further suggesting that the identification of difference is a rich area for projection and can have positive implications if handled carefully.

More recent research has begun to investigate the effects of racial microaggressions on those from a BME population (Solorzano, Ceja & Yosso, 2000; Sue, Capodilupo & Holder, 2008; Sue et al, 2007). Racial microaggressions are subtle everyday interpersonal interactions during which offensive or "denigrating messages" are communicated to people "because of their racial or ethnic group membership". Some examples of everyday microaggressions encountered by African Americans are "being ignored by salesclerks in favour of White customers and being mistaken for service personnel" (Constantine, 2007, p. 2).

According to Sue et al (2008), these microaggressions are often unknowingly conveyed and are considered by some as harmless. Their harm, however, is not always readily identifiable. Sue et al (2008) continue to explain that, when a White teaching professional remarks "with tones of surprise" about the positive linguistic capabilities of a Black student, this is essentially an endorsement of the discourse which positions Black people as unintelligent (p. 329). Racial microaggressions such as this can cause deep offence and continue to maintain the discord caused by older, more overt forms of racism.

Microaggressions have also been recognised which may appear within the counselling setting. In a study by Constantine (2007), which included the development of a measure for racial microaggressions within counselling, twelve potential microaggressions were identified by participants in a focus group. Some of those identified were: denial of personal potential

for racism, minimising of racial/cultural issues, use of stereotypical assumptions about racial or ethnic groups and the colour-blind attitude which denies racial or cultural differences.

Findings of the study also indicate that perceived racial microaggressions were negatively related to “African American clients’ perceptions of (a) the therapeutic working alliance and (b) White therapists’ general and multicultural counseling competence” (*ibid*, p. 11). These findings strongly suggest that when present, these subtle forms of racial discrimination will have a negative impact on the therapeutic relationship and therein any therapeutic efficacy. The article also proposes possible compounded effects when the perceived bias or prejudice is experienced within a therapeutic relationship. Constantine notes “when a helping professional, such as a counselor or a psychologist, unconsciously enacts a form of racial oppression, such as a racial microaggression, it may have even more profoundly negative effects than a microaggression enacted by a nonhelping professional” (*ibid*, p. 11).

Effects of Racism

In July 2005 the entire issue of *The Counseling Psychologist*, published by the Division of Counseling Psychology of the American Psychological Association, was devoted to the question of racism with regards to research, training and practice. Articles by Bryant-Davis and Ocampo (2005) and Wade (2005) discuss the experience of racism as trauma and the implications of this for counselling psychology practice. It is suggested that “counsellors should examine a client’s experience of racism and how racism has affected his or her world view” (Wade, 2005, p. 540). However, it is noted by Sanchez-Hucles and Jones (2005) that “Typically in discussions of racial trauma we focus only on the victims. Although this focus is necessary, we also must systematically address the individuals and systems that maintain racism if we are to be successful in ending race-based trauma” (p. 551).

The sometimes crippling effects of the experience of racism are covered by Thompson-Miller and Feagin (2007) in their article “Continuing Injuries of Racism”. This article draws on a previous paper by Thompson-Miller and Feagin (2006) which graphically conveys the trauma of racism via its in-depth interviews of older African Americans. Articles such as these introduce White professionals to the all too often unknown cumulative effects of a lifetime of racial abuse. Thompson-Miller and Fagin (2007) also point out how White discriminators, such as those who perpetrate the use, consciously and unconsciously, of

behaviours such as microaggressions, maintain “the systemic racism that generates much health damage” (p. 112).

The examples of research which have been cited thus far have investigated the realist assumption that White people are racist. Each of these studies discursively positions people of BME populations in passive subject positions, suggesting that only through the White person's development of self-awareness, and action on that awareness, can racism be addressed. This assumption disregards the potential agency and power of the minority group, or individual, therein reproducing the unequal power relations that exist between the groups. In this way, these studies sustain the rhetoric they set out to unmask. This inhibits the potential of alternative discursive regimes which speak of empowerment of those from a BME population. Literature which addresses the multifaceted nature of human beings increases the discursive repertoires which can be employed when discussing issues of ‘race’ and racism, arguably offering less of a ‘them and us’ position.

Intersecting aspects of minoritisation

Silverstein (2006) notes that multiculturalism's centre of attention is ‘race’ and ‘ethnicity’, whilst feminism has mainly attended to the issues of White, middle-class women. Silverstein (2006) argues that both of these areas are “inextricably linked”, since the aim of both is “social justice” (p. 22). Chantler (2005) proposes that intersections of ‘race’/gender or ‘race’/sexuality/gender and so forth create a perspective of identities as multiple and shifting. Whilst identity politics has been successful in raising awareness of issues relating to class, sexuality, gender, disability, ‘race’ and age, the diversity and intersectionality of these groups has been largely ignored.

An article by Moodley (2005) proposes that drawing on intersecting aspects of a client's identity can be highly progressive when clients are reluctant to engage with ‘race’ and racism during therapy. Moodley suggests that working through the complications of life which are associated with gender can act as a “good enough holding environment” and facilitate the exploration of ‘race’ and other “complex interpersonal issues” (p. 319). He also warns that if these issues are avoided they may “lie in wait for the therapist in the transference relationship” (p. 322).

Chantler (2005) also proposes that from a liberal multiculturalist perspective there is a propensity to support cultural autonomy. Things remain unchallenged in therapy in the name

of cultural respect. As with domestic violence and rape within marriage, therapists must be prepared to address the concerns of marginalised groups within minoritised populations. Intersectionality allows counselling psychologists to consider all aspects of marginalisation and minoritisation and to not favour one over another.

Intersection is part of the discursive field of 'pluralism' proposed by Gordon (1996). The discourses associated with this field are drawn on by the discipline of counselling psychology (McAteer, 2010), which positions itself as all inclusive, working hard not to value one perspective over another. "This pluralistic epistemology is at the core of counselling psychology and represents its engagement with a wide variety of perspectives that clients bring to therapy, or that are evident when conducting research or when working with service and policy development" (*ibid*, p. 6). The discursive fields of 'pluralism', 'colour-blindness' and 'interculturalism', which it is argued inform the practice of counselling and psychotherapy, are explicated towards the end of this review.

Education, Research and Training

In order to challenge the insidious nature of discrimination which is said to exist throughout much, if not all of the Western world, it is suggested that White professionals, such as counselling psychologists, examine their thinking and beliefs around 'race' and racism to facilitate their ability to helpfully work across cultures.

The importance of this has been covered in some depth by scholars such as Judy Ryde (2009) and Gill Tuckwell (2002). They both suggest that White therapists will more readily identify and counteract personal racism within the therapeutic encounter if they have explored their own 'Whiteness'. Laszloffy and Hardy (2000) use illuminating vignettes to demonstrate how such awareness, along with racial sensitivity, can help therapists to challenge personal racism and work with racism effectively when it is part of the client's presenting problem.

In accordance with the demand for practitioners to increase their racial awareness a significant proportion of the research in this area (Castillo, Brossart, Reyes, Conoley, & Phoummarath, 2007; D'Andrea, Daniels, & Heck, 1991; Neville et al., 1996; Sadowsky, Kuo-Jackson, Richardson, & Corey, 1998) has focused on the influence of multicultural training. The studies cited examined various trainings, including workshops and more comprehensive 6 or 15 week courses. All of the studies reported a significant increase in

cultural awareness, and in the case of the study by Castillo et al (2007), a decrease in implicit racial prejudice following all multicultural trainings.

The importance of the development of racial awareness is further supported in a review of the literature (Richardson & Molinaro, 1996) which proposed that personal growth would advance the provision of psychotherapy to culturally diverse client populations. Correspondingly, much of the literature in this area examines training methods used by counselling and psychology courses. An article by Abreu (2001) illuminates how education focused on stereotypes and perceptual bias can assist in helping White therapists understand their own beliefs and attitudes, and how these may well affect the therapeutic encounter.

Qualitative research by Ancis and Szymanski (2001) investigated White counselling students' awareness of White privilege. Results produced three themes; first, 'Lack of awareness and denial of White privilege', second 'Awareness of White privilege and Discrimination', and third 'Higher order awareness and commitment to Action'. Awareness was related to empathy towards other 'ethnic' groups, whilst lack of awareness was related to denial of racism. Further research investigating White racial attitudes and ego defence mechanisms utilised by counsellor trainees has been provided by Utsey & Gernat (2002). A relationship was found between low White awareness and outwardly focused defence mechanisms such as projection, displacement and regression. The findings also suggest that White counselling trainees have difficulty recognizing the significance of racial concerns.

A later qualitative study by Utsey, Gernat & Hammar (2005) examined White counsellor trainees' reactions to racial issues in counselling and supervision. Their findings provide a revealing interpretation of "the insidious matrix of White racial identity, White privilege, and color-blind attitudes as they coalesce and manifest in the counselling and/or supervision dyad" (p. 456). It should also be noted that via its use of focus groups to obtain data, the study usefully explores the challenges which are faced when discussing 'race' and racism in multicultural groups. The research convincingly captures the differing degrees of racial awareness and the effect of this awareness on the trainees' ability to practice therapeutically. Some participants felt able to acknowledge 'race' and explore their Whiteness whilst others minimised the significance of 'race'. Additionally, levels of anxiety displayed by the trainees when discussing racially provocative material was also analysed in some depth.

The literature discussed above, which highlights the development of racial awareness, positions the White individual as racist and suggests that racism can be trained out. It is

argued by authors such as Wetherell and Potter (1992) that this is a very narrow definition of racism which obscures the view that “racism is a manifestation of the pattern of uneven power relations” (p. 216). This view suggests that racism is not located within the individual but is perpetuated by discourses such as the ‘White awareness’ discourse which sidesteps the socio-political complexities that perpetuate racial discrimination and prejudice. Discursively “it firmly instantiates the distinction between the prejudiced and the enlightened, through the blaming of individuals, and gives prejudice discourse immense credibility as a model of racism” (*ibid*, p. 218).

Discourse Analysis and Racism

The literature cited thus far offers some realist interpretations of the issues created by ‘race’ and racism and the potential of training to counteract these issues. In an effort to challenge the possibly limiting discourses produced by such research, a significant proportion of the body of knowledge in this area also draws attention to the complex matrix of socio-political factors which historically and presently create and maintain the unequal power relations, such as White privilege, colour-blind attitudes and the discursive reproduction of racial stereotypes (Ryde, 2009).

Contemporary racism is considered to be much more covert in nature than in the past. The research of van Dijk (1993, 1992) which employs CDP (Critical Discursive Psychology) as its method of analysis offers many suggestions as to why some White people continue to separate themselves from others in a hierarchical fashion, and how they now do so in a veiled way. To openly place oneself above another human being on the basis of their culture or ethnicity or to discriminate against them in any way is now not socially acceptable. Indeed, the Race Relations Act (1976) has criminalised such behaviour. Yet, contemporary discursive research in the field of psychology offers plenty of evidence which suggests that racial prejudice has not been eradicated (Chiang, 2010; Goodman & Burke, 2010; Holtz & Wagner, 2009; Verkuyten, 2005).

van Dijk (1993) examined elite discourse and its role in the perpetuation of racism. The study found that elite discourse was centred on face-saving and the maintenance of the image of liberal, egalitarian, tolerant leaders. To maintain this image, White speakers were found to contrast themselves against ‘others’, “presenting the ‘others’ in a negative light. Disclaimers, mitigations, euphemisms, transfers” are utilised as denials of racism (*ibid*, p. 193). According to van Dijk (1992) the elite “control or have access to many types of public discourse, (and)

have the largest stake in maintaining White group dominance” (p. 88). Counselling psychologists are particularly positioned in their work with people and wider communities to maintain the unequal status quo, and this research describes the subtle and complex ways racial prejudice can be reinforced, thereby apprising practitioners of areas for development of self awareness.

Research by Holtz and Wagner (2009) investigated the discourse of right-wing groups via their internet postings. They discovered that German White racism was maintained by essentialist thinking which defined other social groups as separate and “immutable” (p. 413) and maintained the sense of ‘Whites’ being the norm all others deviated from. Although the discipline of counselling psychology is unlikely to contain right-wing nationalists, the notion of ‘White supremacy’ has a notable position in Western history and thereby can still find itself reproduced, albeit often unknowingly, in talk today.

In their investigations of racial prejudice authors such as Huygens (2006), Lyons, Madden, Chamberlain and Carr (2011) and Wetherell & Potter (1992), have paid particular attention to the discourse of native New Zealanders, both Pakeha (White New Zealanders) and Maori New Zealanders. Wetherell and Potter (1992) in particular have produced an in-depth analysis of ways in which discourses perform social actions which “sustained colonisation” and now continue to “reproduce Maori disadvantage and exclusion on a daily basis” (p. 27).

However, Huygens (2006) provides us with some progressive research which reports the advancement of decolonisation. In her discourse analysis she “examined narratives of organisational change seeking constructions of an alternative social reality” (p. 13). Huygens discovered the use of new discursive resources that were part of a “conscientising dialogue” (*ibid*, p. 13) between Pakeha and Maori New Zealanders which rejected the dominant discourse. These “new resources enabled a coherent dialogue between Maori and Pakeha” facilitating the process of decolonisation (*ibid*, p. 13).

Vautier (2009) examined selected extracts of political discourse in the run up to the 1997 UK election and highlighted the effects of “White anxiety” (p. 122). Press and public outcry followed the use of ‘race card tactics’ by the Conservative politician Nicholas Budgen. Vautier’s analysis identified how seemingly anti-racist representations were in fact maintaining racism. Immigration was the subject placed under scrutiny by Budgen, particularly the linking of immigration restrictions and “good race relations” (*ibid*, p. 128). However, the political conflict and debate inspired by the use of ‘race related tactics’ to win

votes entirely sidestepped any interrogation of the validity of this notion which thereby reinforced it as a regime of truth. The fertile ground of immigration and discourse analysis is also taken up by researchers in the US.

Research undertaken by Chiang (2010) and Stewart, Pitts and Osborne (2011) provides evidence which suggests that when immigration is a topic in the public domain in the US, it is usually coupled with denials of racism which are surreptitiously maintaining the uneven subject positions of differing racial groups.

It is important to note that all of these recent studies take place in countries which all legislate against racism and racial prejudice. Nonetheless, the studies cited argue that, despite this, the dominant discourses which favour White supremacy are still implicitly endorsing unequal cultural representations and practices. Again, given their dominance, one must question what discourses are being silenced by such research outcomes. It could be argued that with the White person perpetually located as racist, often unknowingly racist, there is no discursive space where White people can occupy a progressive pluralistic position. The White person is spoken of as a victim of their heritage, and so without the power to free themselves of their inherent prejudice. The following research which examines the discourse of students reinforces this dominant rhetoric.

Student Discourse

In the *Canadian Journal of Counselling*, Palmer and Parish (2008) specifically address the need for education, research and training in counselling psychology to ensure the subject of social justice is emphasised to and understood by trainees. They echo sentiments which have already been conveyed throughout this review, such as the criticism that psychology may often be complicit in the marginalisation and oppression of minorities, and note the unique position counselling psychologists are in to advocate for social justice. They cite the sentiments of Vera and Speight (2003), "It is imperative that students and faculty critically reflect on and gain awareness of their own privileged positions in the given socio-political context, and take opportunities to confront their own participation in systemic oppression" (p. 285).

Students' discourse on immigration attitudes and ideological values were examined by Lopez-Maestre and Lottgen (2003). Students were asked to write essays on the subject of immigration which were analysed with both quantitative and qualitative criteria. The

quantitative analysis revealed the dominant attitudes towards immigration, whilst the qualitative analysis exposed how these attitudes were constructed and the resulting social positioning of immigrants. Despite each of the students writing essays which they believed to be politically correct, the analysis suggests that their views were in fact xenophobic. Again the study draws attention to the necessity for students to be provided with the opportunity to examine the implications of the discursive regimes they draw on when discussing matters relevant to social justice.

Both these journal articles position students as naive as regards their own role in the oppression of minorities, and again the rhetoric of both these studies is one of pre-enlightenment. It locates the problem in the individual and suggests that although one will arguably always contain the potential to be racist, becoming aware and reflexive will prevent such bigotry contaminating the field of counselling and psychotherapy. Again the discourses drawn on suggest that racism can be either trained out or reflexively incorporated so as no longer to be a threat to one's professional practice.

Parker (1992) cautions the use of the postmodern tool of reflexivity. He notes "Reflexivity is advertised, in some accounts of the postmodern, as the central defining feature of the new state of things (Lawson, 1984), and some of the enthusiasts...see in it a way of overcoming the gulf between the individual and the social...My caution is that we have to understand the political functions of that connection instead of heaving a sigh of relief because a connection has been made" (p. 79-80). In this sense, Parker warns that what one does with the knowledge which arises from self awareness is just as important as awareness itself. Indeed, the two articles referred to (Palmer and Parish 2008; Lopez-Maestre and Lottgen 2003) engage with a postmodern perspective and promote reflexivity, but the knowledge they communicate is that which is propagated by the hegemonic discourse which positions White people as ignorant of their own prejudices.

Nonetheless, this call for honest and thorough self-reflection has been recognised by contemporary psychotherapy and counselling. Indeed, since the early 1990s an increasing number of studies have engaged qualitative language-based analysis to examine the practice of psychotherapy and counselling (Avdi & Georgaca, 2009; Avdi, 2008; Guilfoyle, 2001; Hodges, 2002; Madill & Doherty, 1994). This has resulted in a growing body of knowledge which offers interpretations of the socio-political role of therapy, and examines how it may

endorse or avoid culturally preferred discourses, supporting a reflexive approach to practice (Avdi & Georgaca, 2007).

However, although the literature in this area is growing all the time, very few of the studies consider the subject of racism within the therapeutic encounter directly. Moreover, when issues of 'race' and racism are engaged with, they appear like epiphenomena which have been identified or inferred by the findings of studies guided by alternative questions, such as Guilfoyle, 2002, Roy-Chowdhury, 2003 and Soal & Kottler, 1996.

Contemporary Research in Counselling and Psychotherapy

In their review of narrative and discursive analysis of subjectivity in psychotherapy, Avdi and Georgaca (2009) conclude that the literature presents a social constructionist view of therapy - a process of discursive negotiation via which clients presenting issues become alternatively conceptualised. Clients arrive at therapy with "problems...arising from the use of a limited range of discourses, usually culturally dominant pathologising discourses, which restrict the range of subject positions that can be adopted and as a result the clients experience and understanding of themselves" (p. 663). All of the studies under review agree that therapy replaces the "pathologising discourses with more empowering ones", but some of the more critical analyses view this process as effectively "the turning of the client to a psychotherapeutic self-contained individualist subject" (*ibid*, p. 663).

In a previous review, Avdi (2008) establishes how research studies employing CDP theories can link therapists' talk to wider socio-political issues by attempting "to reveal the often hidden assumptions which inform and guide...discursive interventions" (p. 58) made by therapists. Avdi argues that therapy is an institutional practice which should welcome the reflexivity offered by deconstructive interrogation.

Critical analysis of family therapy undertaken by Guilfoyle (2002) has identified how some of these hidden assumptions can reproduce particular values and ideals. His study examines how therapists' rhetorical strategies can be interpreted as influential or even biased. Ultimately this creates problems when each of us is situated according to our own socio-political context. During our 'good work', Western ideals relating to what it means to be human may often be reproduced by therapy. Being unaware of this limits one's ability to see the differing and alternate perspective of others, even when this is staring us in the face in the therapy room.

The internalising of White ideals by a black family in South Africa is identified in an analysis by Soal and Kottler (1996). This in depth study offers a disturbing interpretation of how many Western hegemonic discourses, such as those which relate to the patriarchal positioning of father and mother and the advancement through wealth attainment and property ownership, are internalised at the expense of the families own 'cultural' beliefs. Without any sensitivity to racial or cultural issues, counselling psychologists might well miss the discord this experience may create within their clients.

The limiting action of a therapist's adoption of culturally and theoretically prescribed discursive regimes was examined by Roy-Chowdhury (2003). One of the issues arising from this study was the issue of power. The subject of power within therapy has been given particular attention in the post-modern era (Hart, 2004; Hook, 2003; House, 1999), and the studies cited are only a few of those which offer a comprehensive examination of the area, examination latitude here does not allow for.

Following a discursive analysis of transcript extracts of family therapy where the father is of Indian origin and the mother of European origin, Roy-Chowdhury (2003) argues that the discourse of the father and the mother position the therapist as an expert by directly requesting her advice and opinion. In an effort to avoid this position the therapist initially declines to offer an answer and then later ignores the request altogether. "Paradoxically, by refusing to be positioned as a powerful expert...professional control over permissible conversational formats is clearly demonstrated" (p. 74 & p. 76).

Further analysis draws attention to the father's comparison of Western attitudes towards family, children and responsibility with those of an Indian culture. Unfortunately, the therapist fails to comment on these cultural references and instead asks the mother if she shares the same beliefs as her husband. This entirely sidesteps the collective perspective of family the father has been constructing, and returns to a Western "belief in the nuclear family which privileges the marital dyad above other family relationships" (*ibid*, p. 80), arguably privileging a Western perspective. Low levels of racial sensitivity and a theoretically prescribed discursive regime limit the therapeutic endeavour to a Western exploration of, and solution to, the family's problems.

It is interesting to note that family therapy appears to be the only area that has used a CDP framework when investigating issues of 'race', racism and 'culture'. The researcher is unable to find any evidence that the discipline of counselling psychology has used such a method of

analysis to examine either dyadic cross-cultural therapy extracts, or the discourse of psychologists themselves discussing cross-cultural therapeutic encounters. The author suggests two possible explanations for this. Firstly, as the discipline of counselling psychology occupies such a pluralistic position, the subject 'do we practice what we preach' may not have been a salient one for investigation. Secondly, the prospect of finding racist significations in the talk of counselling psychologists may have been too distasteful to bear. The present study aims to address this deficiency in the current literature.

Dominant Discourses In and Around Psychotherapy and Counselling

A paper by Gordon (1996) which examines intercultural therapy and counselling makes reference to three dominant discursive fields regarding multicultural integration which have inhabited the disciplines of counselling and therapy and the surrounding industrial, educational and political domains. The historical development of discourses pertaining to 'race' and 'culture' are examined in detail by Malik (1996). Space within this literature review does not allow for a detailed assessment; however some of Malik's ideas will be drawn on to give perspective to Gordon's position.

The first discursive field is that of 'colour-blindness'. Discourses related to this field exclude difference on any level and promote equal opportunities. According to Malik (1996) discourses identified as colour-blind contain the ideology of universalism and the philosophy of humanism, both of which "underpinned the scientific and philosophical revolution unleashed by the Renaissance and the Enlightenment" (p. 237). The Western philosophy of humanism promotes the collective nature of being human, whilst universalism proposes that western ideas of rationality and objectivity hold true throughout the world. As Gordon (1996) notes, the difficulty with discourses relating to this field is that they fail to engage with the realities of "racism, discrimination and prejudice" (p. 204). These realities create significant variations in the life chances and experiences of those from BME populations. Alongside this, such an ethnocentric position is the cause of much misdiagnosis amongst minority clients (Lago, 2006).

The second discursive field noted by Gordon (1996) contains the rhetoric of 'interculturalism', a rejection of a colour-blind approach. Here constructions promote cultural respect and encourage knowledge and understanding of alternative 'cultures'. This discursive field is populated by words such as 'diversity' and 'difference' and these subjects are especially salient. Malik (1996) proposes that anthropological thinking from theorists such as

Franz Boas and Claude Levi-Strauss is inherent in this discursive field. Their work challenged the view of the humanists with its assertions that we are cultural rather than biological beings, and furthermore, that each of these cultural variations is required for the successful advancement of mankind. The discourses of likeness and integration made way for interpretive repertoires such as “cultural pluralism, value relativism (and) mutual tolerance” (*ibid*, p. 169).

Although well meaning in its intention, the overarching attention paid to difference from this perspective often results in other issues of therapeutic need being neglected or overlooked - when something is being said something else is usually being silenced. This reductive approach towards aetiology also limits the clinicians' examination of psychopathology and thereby may also produce misdiagnosis (Costigan, 2004; Ridley, 1995).

However, Gordon (1996) notes a third discursive field which he believes does not seek to colonise or to distinguish. This is the discourse of ‘pluralism’, of being respected as oneself in all one’s uniqueness. A product of the philosophical movement of postmodernism, ‘pluralism’ seeks to acknowledge the ever emerging multiplicity of perspectives which are represented in all aspects of life, both personal and professional, including therapeutic practice. Pluralism begins with a respect for the other, foregrounding a relationship where one seeks nothing but relationship, with no *a priori* contingencies or expectations (McAteer, 2010).

Counselling psychologists everywhere will no doubt agree that this has been the ambition of counselling psychology since its inception. With its diverse, tension-filled epistemological roots in phenomenology, existentialism, psychology and humanistic values (Strawbridge & Woolfe, 2010), it is no surprise that the discipline has struggled to find its way. However, now the “right to be different” is eclipsing the “right to be equal” as the result of “the antihumanist, anti-essentialist tendencies in poststructuralist discourse” (Malik, 1996, p. 262).

It is of some note that all of these discursive fields are well represented throughout the literature contained within this review. The studies by Watkins et al (1989), Townes et al (2009), Thompson et al (1994), Ayonrinde (1999) and several others thereafter occupy positions within the field of ‘interculturalism’. As the literature review progresses Sanchez-Hucles and Jones (2005), Ancis and Szymanski (2001) and Utsey et al (2005) produce research which straddles both the fields of ‘colour-blindness’ and ‘interculturalism’.

The third discursive field of 'pluralism' is represented by the work of Reid (2002), Silverstein (2006), Moodley (2005) and Chantler (2005), with their focus on social justice.

Research Aims

Throughout this review efforts have been made to discursively position the findings of the research cited. A good deal of this research is based on realist assumptions; assumptions which the findings of studies which take a more critical approach reinforce. Authors such as Gordon (1996) and Ryde (2009) suggest that discourses can change in line with personal growth and socio-political developments, which in themselves draw on a discourse of enlightenment.

My challenge will be to create an awareness of the discourses we are subject to, and an understanding of how these discourses create subject positions which influence who occupies them, how these subject positions shape the therapeutic encounter, all the while avoiding the proliferation of unequal power dynamics underlined by the findings in other studies. To this end I hope to find progressive discourses which offer more than the binary position of: White equals active racist versus Minority equals passive victim.

The present qualitative study will examine how White trainee counselling psychologists construct their experience of training in this area and how they discursively explore and negotiate their potential for racial prejudice within the therapeutic encounter. Racism can be present within societal frameworks, social discourse and, if not overtly, often covertly within the individual. It is of immense interest to the field of counselling psychology to appreciate the discursive complexities which may be maintaining racial prejudice within clinical practice, and to develop some understanding of the active nature of discourses associated with awareness and reflexivity in this area.

Alternatively, the presence of strong anti-racist ethical guidelines in counselling psychology professional practice, underlined by the BPS (British Psychological Society) Code of Ethics and Conduct (2009) are acknowledged. These guidelines have ensured that cultural and racial issues are included in counselling psychology training programmes, which may have fostered the ongoing reduction and possible elimination of racist talk in counselling psychologists. Therefore, I will remain open to the possibility that alternative discourses may be informing the talk of White counselling psychologists, discourses which do not overtly or covertly reinforce prejudicial attitudes. Such findings will offer a different argument to that

contained in the majority of existing literature, and so supplement the field with a further critical perspective.

Chapter 2

Methodology

Ontological and Epistemological Positioning

Quantitative methods

As a psychology graduate trained in the rigours of quantitative research methods, I naturally examined whether there was a place for the conventional scientific model within this study. When reviewing the subject under investigation, it was clear that it would be possible to develop a quantitative study using self-report measures. A straightforward proposal for this study would be to examine the effect of White trainee counselling psychologists' racial attitudes, and cross cultural competence, on the real relationship when working with clients from a BME population. If results were significant, this study would complement the literature with a further perspective on measured levels of training and experience, and their relationship to White therapists' work with BME clients. Whilst the results from such a study would be a useful contribution to the field of counselling psychology, my own development as a counselling psychologist left me feeling resistant to such a positivistic approach to research.

The measures relied upon for quantitative studies limit the data obtained from participants. There is no room for "subjects' to plan, react and express appropriate behaviour in the context of the research topic...The resulting model of the person is simplistic and mechanistic" (Coolican, 2004, p. 224). As a counselling psychologist training in the work of therapy, exploring individuals and their context had increasingly become my primary point of focus. To reduce a person's understanding of their work with clients who were racially different to themselves to such a one-dimensional form of enquiry when so much more was on offer seemed too reductive. A qualitative approach to analysis was more aligned with my current perspective, and would arguably produce a study with more depth.

When searching for a qualitative method of analysis I began by contemplating my subjective experience as a White British, English-speaking, trainee counselling psychologist. Initially this led to the examination of methods of analysis which are underpinned by a realist epistemology, in this case various forms of phenomenological analysis.

Phenomenology

The first form of qualitative enquiry considered was Husserl's descriptive phenomenology (Husserl, 1931). This form of understanding proposes that the world gains meaning from within us and any phenomenon can only be understood via the individual's experience of being in the world. In this respect, phenomenology moves away from the realms of objective reality and the search for definitive 'truths', making its focus the lived experience of the individual and their unique psychological representation of this experience. In this sense, "phenomenological analysis attempts to discern the psychological essence of the phenomenon under investigation" (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2008, p. 28), in this case racial prejudice. I found this philosophy's rejection of a pre-existing world attractive to and it became something of a fixture in my quest for an appropriate method. However, two issues arose which I struggled with.

Firstly, descriptive phenomenology considers how people live through and interpret situations. I was unconvinced that this method would allow for an adequate investigation of the subject, taking the view that the lived experience by itself would not be sufficient to explore the subject of racial prejudice in any depth. A study which would also examine the social and discursive mechanisms, by which racism is maintained, may well illuminate factors which an account of the lived experience could neglect.

Secondly, I believed that my close personal involvement with the subject under investigation would not allow for a bracketing of all prior knowledge. Husserl took the view that one should be able to recognise the difference between one's own understanding of a phenomenon and another's. Once recognised, a researcher then ought to be able to put their subjective interpretations to one side, and offer an accurate analytical reflection of the participant's account. I recognised that I was still very much embedded in my own ongoing personal experience as a White British trainee counselling psychologist, and as a consequence this may well make itself present in the analysis. Indeed, I doubted that it would ever be possible to remove one's own subjectivity from the research process, as a project of this nature rarely begins without some passion for the area of enquiry. We also inevitably intrude into our research, if only in the choice of language we use to express our findings. This led to the possibility of employing Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

IPA is regarded as a much more dynamic process, where the researcher's personal feelings and outlook are considered the lens through which participants' experiences are examined. In this respect, a double hermeneutic process occurs as the "participants are trying to make sense of their world; the researcher is trying to make sense of the participants trying to make sense of their world" (*ibid*, p. 53). The research produced is always an interpretation rather than an unqualified reflection of the participants' experience. In addition to this, IPA considers itself to be informed by 'symbolic interactionism' (Giddens, 2001), incorporating in its focus both the personal and the social construction of meaning. This recognition of the researcher's subjectivity in the interpretive process, and the additional influence of social constructionism, went some way towards meeting the study's needs. Nonetheless, IPA still seemed inappropriate for the research area being examined.

IPA remains underpinned by the philosophy of phenomenology and, as such, is also concerned with the exploration of subjects' personal perception of their lived experience in relation to a particular object or event. Whilst it moves beyond the essences of the phenomenon as proposed in Husserl's descriptive phenomenology, an interpretive analysis, even one which acknowledges the socially informed aspect of interpretation, would provide little understanding of the discursive frameworks through which racial or cultural issues are interpreted in the first place. I was looking to go beyond my interpretation of the participants' interpretation of the phenomenon of racial prejudice. Briefly I also explored Heuristic research (Appendix 9, page 137), but I rejected this too as it is also informed by phenomenology.

In an effort to step away from a method based on phenomenological interpretation, I began to investigate narrative psychology and the forms of analysis which have arisen from the study of the narrative. Taking the view that all personal accounts of life experiences assume the form of stories, narrative analysis can be used to investigate a particular life experience or event from a storied perspective.

Narrative Psychology

Narrative psychology proposes that narratives are important to us for several reasons. Notably they help us maintain a sense of order in a relatively unpredictable world. Narrating an ordered story around disruptive events restores a feeling of control, such as when one is experiencing or has experienced health, financial or relationship issues (Becker, 1997). According to Flick (2009) narratives generally follow a threefold structure around an event or

experience, 1) how things began, 2) how events unfolded, and 3) how things turned out; in effect a beginning, middle, and an end.

It is via narrative that people construct a sense of selfhood. The stories that we tell others about ourselves and our experiences create identities which help us make sense of who we are. Murray (2008) notes “We can hold a variety of narrative identities, each of which...not only connects us to a set of social relationships but also provides us with a sense of localized coherence and stability” (p. 115). However, the nature of the narrative from this perspective suggests that it will be greatly influenced by what kind of ‘truth’ the narrator wishes to leave with her interlocutors about him/herself.

Murray (2008) drawing on the thoughts of Hollway and Jefferson (2000) reminds us that “the very structure of the story we tell... [is] shaped by a multiplicity of social and psychological forces” (p. 116). This narration of the subject being shaped by one’s social context suggests that the nature of the story will not only be influenced by the person to whom it is narrated, but also additionally, by the social and cultural context within which it is articulated.

The analytical process seems to suggest that the results of the study are a collective interpretation of the stories relating to the subject under investigation. During the narrative interview the researcher asks one question with the intention of obtaining a storied answer. However, I had concerns that if unstructured interviews were employed the participants may wander off topic, the possibility of this being increased with the particular subject being investigated.

The aspect of self-editing created problems for a study where the intention is to examine the participants’ potential for racial prejudice. As it was recognised with phenomenological methods, there was a limited likelihood of trainee counselling psychologists creating stories which contained evidence of their own potential for racial prejudice. Strong anti-racist messages disseminated publicly, professionally and socially have all but eliminated explicit admissions of racism and racial prejudice; however, this does not mean that racial discrimination has been eradicated from our society. As was noted in the introduction to this thesis, racism exists within the “organising principles of one’s culture” and the “organising principles” of the individual (Ryde, 2009, p. 14). In this sense, racism can continue to subsist beyond conscious awareness because people often unknowingly collude with the legacy that colonialism and White supremacy have left them.

This study required a method of analysis which questioned what was being said rather than analysing what was immediately evident. As opposed to an investigation which attempted to identify intentional racism, a study which examined the implicit effects of the discourses drawn on by White trainees ought better to help us to understand the mechanisms which may sustain racism within the UK today.

My methodological journey appeared to be moving me away from an analytical method which “adopts a hermeneutic approach to knowledge production” (Willig, 2008a, p. 144). As I took a more detailed look at the subject under investigation and my own relationship to it, I began to question my own ontological position. As noted earlier, I questioned the notion of a pre-existing world; however, I was also beginning to doubt the premise of a fixed ‘self’ which informs one’s subjectivity.

Scientific life appeared to be full of positions which, depending on one’s circumstances, one must take, such as positivist, realist, critical realist or social constructionist. I was increasingly aware of my theoretical belief in a co-constructed world, yet I often noticed myself speaking of constructs as though they were real, which in turn informed many of my actions. I felt herself to be straddled between two ontological positions, as a counsellor I found myself occupying the position of a critical realist, often having to accept the limitations of clients’ “systems of relationships and positions” (Parker, 1992, p. 36), and, as a psychologist, I occupied the position of social constructionism, “understanding human experience, including perception” to be “mediated historically, culturally and linguistically” (Willig, 2008a, p. 7).

This contingency in itself led me to claim that from an ontological perspective I leaned more towards social constructionism. As I was unable to maintain a fixed ontological position, this indicates a dependence upon what is happening constructively and contextually. From this place, I then began to query my notions of my ‘self’ and my prejudices. Rather than developing the certainty that my prejudices were real or fixed notions of my ‘self’, I began to wonder “are my prejudiced assumptions accomplished via context dependent interaction and subject to revision?” This focus on shared meaning making took me to the methodological realm of Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis (CA).

Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis

Harold Garfinkel (1917-2011) was one of ethnomethodology's main contributors. He was particularly interested in the commonsense understandings that people engage with daily to interpret the meanings of their interlocutors. The assumptions of ethnomethodology are: "Social life is a series of ongoing interact-ional accomplishments, and descriptions, conversations, and representations are not merely *about* the social world – they actively *constitute* it. Daily life is understood as an intersubjective process that becomes ordinary, or predictable, through systems of shared meaning" (Pascale, 2011, p. 105, her emphases).

Ethnomethodological analysis concentrates on the production of meaning, studying language and interaction for the discovery of implicit rather than explicit meaning. The intention is to produce a descriptive study of how participants co-create shared meanings which maintain social order within shifting social contexts. This framework has informed the investigative method of CA which focuses explicitly on verbal interaction. Talk is studied as a subject in its own right, removed from its status as an exhibitor of cognitive or emotional processes, no longer a mere vehicle for naming and communicating knowledge or understanding. In this sense CA examines the action orientation of talk – what is the talk doing (Drew, 2008). Epistemologically, this method of understanding knowledge production seemed congruent with my ontological position.

However, further exploration suggested that ethnomethodological methods could not capture social processes, which sustain or reproduce racial prejudice. Both CA's and ethnomethodology's epistemological frameworks are too narrow, allowing only for analytic induction of the text. When investigating the construction of prejudice and discrimination such methodological approaches could be unhelpful. Pascale (2011) argues that when undertaking an ethnomethodological analysis; "all social resources that exist outside of the immediate context, even those which enable meaning-making practices, are excluded from analysis. Consequently, its ability to get at relations of routine privilege (arguably exploitation and domination as well) is quite limited" (p. 135).

As it has been suggested in the previous literature review, contemporary racist discourse is much more covert in nature than ever before. The studies cited which have been able to capture this most succinctly had a postmodern philosophical basis (Holtz & Wagner, 2009; Huygens, 2006; Lyons et al, 2011; Van Dijk, 1993, 1992; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). This

research is able to produce such findings by using methods of analysis from the social constructionist field of discursive psychology.

“Powerfully influenced” by the theoretical suppositions of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (Flick, 2009, p. 235), this postmodern stance challenges our common understanding of the world and ourselves within it. It is anti-essentialist, taking the view that knowledge is co-created by people who construct it between them (Burr, 1995). In this sense, knowledge is not fixed and static but forever changing via new interpretations, never allowing for any one objective ‘truth’ (Gergen, 2009). At this point I explored psychology’s relationship with postmodernism (Appendix 9, page 137), aiming to understand if there was a place for postmodern theory within counselling psychology.

Discourse Analysis (DA)

DA arises from a collective background which includes theoretical concepts from ethnomethodology, CA, and semiology. These bodies of knowledge informed the areas of structuralism, post-structuralism and postmodernism from which the innovation of DA was established (Potter, 1996). Developing Saussure’s idea of language as a self-contained system, French philosophers of postmodernism, such as Barthes, Derrida and Foucault, provided theoretical arguments regarding the constitutive nature of language.

Derrida’s viewpoint that we are always subject to language rather than the authors of it, contested the existence of a unified agentic self. Derrida’s innovative way of thinking became the backbone of his approach to the construction of knowledge, and he began to critically ‘deconstruct’ the works of Husserl, Lacan and many others. This deconstructive stance follows the assumption that language consists of systems of discourse: “speakers do not invent these systems with their speech; rather, they have their own complex cultural histories. Speakers draw on the systems; but they are not in control of them” (Potter, 1996, p. 81). Accordingly, Derrida offered a deconstructive interpretation of subjects such as phenomenology and psychoanalysis and exposed them as being shaped by systems of discourse rather than based on the original thoughts of the philosophers and psychoanalysts themselves. This deconstructive element and the ideas which inform it are an important aspect of DA. The thinking of French philosopher Michael Foucault (1926-1984) has also made a significant contribution to DA, inspiring a form of analysis congruent with his theory.

Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

In a similar line of thinking to Derrida, Foucault in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972) challenges the originality of texts. In his role as a “sociologist and historian” (Potter, 1996, p. 86), Foucault offers a unique deconstructive perspective of the social sciences – engaging in an extensive study of the subjects of madness, chance and discontinuity (Sarup, 1993). His particular approach to deconstruction does not attempt to identify widely held ‘truths’, but offers “a historical investigation into the events that have led us to constitute ourselves and to recognise ourselves as subjects of what we are doing, thinking, saying” (Foucault, 1986, p. 45).

A Foucauldian discourse analysis applies this critically deconstructive approach to texts, paying particular interest to the role of language in the creation of social and psychological life (Willig, 2008b). According to Foucault, people are constrained or empowered by differing discourses represented within their cultural milieu. The analytic focus is on the discursive resources which are available within a culture – how one may be constructed - and the implications for the inhabitants of that cultural setting. Constructions “make available certain ways of seeing the world and certain ways of being in the world. Discourses offer *subject positions* which, when taken up, have implications for subjectivity and experience” (*ibid*, p. 172, her emphasis).

These implications demand that a researcher using a Foucauldian approach engage with issues of power, identifying dominant discourses which facilitate or constrain ways of seeing, and being, in the world. Foucauldian discourse analysts consider the historical aspects of discourse and how available subject positions may change over time. Institutional discourse is also examined in an effort to understand how people are “regulated and to some extent controlled” by such discourses (Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000, p. 31). An analytical reading attempts to explain how discursive fields offer alternative subject positions which in turn create subjectivities. The argument is that, whilst subjectivities are many and varied, they are not products of one’s autonomous deliberation. Foucauldian discourse analysts attempt to expose the grounding for one’s positioning, and what is enabled and constrained both experientially and socially by alternative subject positions.

Whereas CA and ethnomethodology are criticised for their narrow point of focus, Foucauldian theory is called into question because of its tendency to suggest that discourse alone has the power to influence one’s subjectivity, and further, how these influences could

cause someone to think, feel and be. Whilst social, historical and institutional fields are reasonably identified as creators of subject positions, some researchers believe that further work needs to be done to understand why people take the positions they do. This could take the form of psychoanalytic theory (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000), informing a discourse-dynamic approach (Willig, 2000).

I appreciated the idea of positions and their enabling and constraining properties, but I questioned their relationship to one's subjectivity. If the present study was investigating the division of counselling psychology, in an effort to understand how its published literature relating to cross-cultural matters may position trainees in relation to their own cross-racial work, this could have been a helpful approach. However, the focus was racial prejudice and whether this was present, either implicitly or explicitly, in the talk of trainee counselling psychologists. Fortunately, further methodological research identified social psychologists' use of critical discursive psychology when attempting to answer such questions (Edwards, 2012; Fozdar, 2008; Goodman & Burke, 2010; Wetherell & Potter, 1992).

Critical Discursive Psychology

For the purpose of this study I have employed Potter and Wetherell's synthesis of 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' analysis referred to as 'critical discursive psychology' (CDP) (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). This method of analysis highlights forms of discourse, social representations and social practices that create unequal subject positions. Using such an approach I hope that I will be able to identify what kinds of representations of racial prejudice are prevalent, if any, in the talk of trainee counselling psychologists. In addition, the present study aims to discover the discursive processes performed by such representations such as subject positioning, and the possible impact of these discursive processes on the trainees' therapeutic practice.

CDP as a form of analysis has gained much momentum over the last 20 years and, during that time, has been identified as a valuable method in research related to prejudice, race, and immigration (Cresswell, 2012). The first widely publicised use of CDP to understand the perpetuation of racial prejudice was Wetherell and Potter's seminal work, *Mapping the Language of Racism* (1992). This comprehensive publication offers an insight into the discourse processes of ordinary White New Zealanders that were sustaining racism and exploitation. Their findings suggest that racism is not simply perpetuated by bigots and

extremists; they convincingly argue that both liberal and egalitarian discourses can be used to sustain racism and racial prejudice.

Successive contemporary research (Edwards, 2012; Fozdar, 2008; Goodman & Burke, 2010; Haviland, 2008) has continued to constructively utilise CDP so as to highlight the oppressive nature of discourses of Whiteness, expose how racism can be discursively disguised, and illuminate rhetorical techniques and discursive resources which are drawn on in racist arguments and debates. The outcomes of these studies also usefully inform wider societal issues, such as asylum seeking, immigration, and existing forms of racism.

In this way CDP aims “to produce and convey critical knowledge that enables human beings to emancipate themselves from forms of domination through self-reflection. Thus, they are aimed at producing ‘enlightenment and emancipation’. Such theories seek not only to describe and explain, but also to root out a particular kind of delusion” (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 7). CDP endeavours to demonstrate how people act in accordance with their own welfare needs, often without knowledge or awareness of such actions.

It seemed possible that a critique of the constructions drawn on by White British trainee counselling psychologists, offering an interpretive snapshot of the subject being investigated, could potentially inform other counselling psychologists’ reflexive practice, and would be a welcome step away from the impossible search for a ‘one size fits all truth’ in a discipline overflowing with idiosyncrasy. This point of view is supported by Rafalin (2010) who notes that “In homage to its humanistic roots, counselling psychology values a search for understanding, rather than demanding universal truths. Through this profession, psychology’s historical fetish for insisting on answers has seen an evolution to a valuing of questions. This paradigm shift has underpinned the development of our profession, and without doubt is critical when considering counselling psychology’s relationship with research” (p. 41).

Discursive analysis has also been used by Potter and Wetherell (1987) to challenge the dominance of quantitative research in relation to attitude. Firstly, they dispute the concept of an attitude as “an enduring, underlying state expressed in talk and behaviour”, instead describing attitude and its object as “fluid”, suggesting that their meanings are continually redefined depending on the “context and the purpose of the talk” (p 70). Secondly, they propose that research which uses graduated scales to record an attitude is flawed because it takes responses out of context. They suggest such quantitative methods fail to acknowledge the inconsistencies in what people say and how meaning is constructed in ordinary talk.

This qualitative study aims to undertake a sophisticated analysis, focused on talk interaction within the discipline of counselling psychology. It is hoped that such an analysis of the data will add an interesting dimension to the body of existing research, which has doubtlessly also been driven by a desire to understand and potentially reduce prejudice in contemporary Britain.

Although the epistemological shift to CDP moves me from the realist/critical realist realms of inquiry to a postmodern perspective, this does not negate my own involvement. I cannot extract myself from the discourse within the field and thereby retain my place within the research. Additionally, and paradoxically, I acknowledge that my own experience and occupation of various subject positions has contributed to the formulation of this research proposal, and where possible, during the investigative process, I will remain aware of my own assumptions and/or biases, regarding the potential for representations of racial prejudice in the participant's talk. In the absence of any naturally occurring talk that reveals trainees' attitudes towards racial prejudice I propose to obtain the next best thing via interviews and focus groups.

Chapter 3

Method

For the purpose of this study I collected data using both one-to-one interviews and focus groups. A description of a few of the individual merits and shortcomings of each method of data collection are provided, followed by the rationale for combining both methods in this research project.

Interviews

Interviews, both structured and unstructured, and everything in between, are a popular source of data collection (Willig, 2008a). Rather than expending the extensive resources which can be devoted to the collection of data from naturalistic settings, interviews can provide relatively focused corpuses of data around the topic the researcher is interested in via a data collection process which is more readily incorporated into the researcher's working and personal life. In spite of this, critics of the interview method argue that the interviews' focus on verbal interaction loses the richness offered by observational methods, such as implicit interaction or hidden activities, and the researcher's experiences associated with the data collection process (Morgan, 1997).

Briefly I considered analysing recordings of counselling psychology trainees' work with clients who were racially different to themselves. If ethical approval for such a study was given, this only met part of the research question. To understand the participants' training experiences I needed to observe all of the relative lectures and associated seminars at each participant's training institution. Unfortunately, this would have not been logistically possible and the data set generated would possibly have been too large for this study.

I wanted the interview process to enable the client to talk as freely as possible about their experience of training and work in the area of racial difference, and therefore wished to limit my potential for direction. I resolved to keep the interview as unstructured as possible: formulating just two questions (Appendix 1, page 127) and responding to points of interest as they arose. Whilst the focus of the research was specific, I was attempting to encourage the participants to elaborate on their own relationship with the subject under investigation. However, this focused approach has led to criticism of the data generated by such interview processes.

Critics claim that the researcher's agenda is always present within the interview process and therefore some direction of the participants talk is unavoidable. This study has aimed to address this in several ways. Firstly, as suggested by Potter and Hepburn (2005), extracts used in the analysis demonstrate the interaction between researcher and participant avoiding the presentation of seemingly "abstract statement[s]" (p. 286). Secondly, in the discussion of this thesis, I have reflected on my effect as an active contributor to the interview process. Lastly, the inclusion of focus groups where my intervention was minimised arguably afforded the participants more freedom to direct the focus of their talk.

Focus Groups

Focus groups are defined by Morgan (1997) as "a research technique that collects data through group interaction on a topic determined by the researcher" (p. 6). In this sense, although the researcher has established the subject for discussion, they are not an active contributor to the data produced. A common principle behind focus groups is that they reveal interactive group processes which would not necessarily be evident within interviewer/interviewee interaction.

Nonetheless, although considered "less artificial than the one-to-one interview" (Willig, 2008a, p. 31), focus groups are criticised as unnatural social settings, and thereby any data produced from them lacks ecological validity (Morgan, 1997). However, the purpose of this study is to collect data related to the *discussion* of both work and training in the area of racial difference, not to observe the practice of both. The results will simply offer an *interpretation* of the data from these focus groups conducted only for these research purposes – I have no intention to make any claims to 'truth' or 'generalisability'. This said, in accordance with the call for scientific rigour in counselling psychology research, the use of both focus groups and interviews within this study is critically unpacked in the discussion at the conclusion of this thesis.

According to Fern (2001), focus groups can be organised for differing subjects and purposes. The focus may be clinical, exploratory or experiential, to correspond to alternative subjects under enquiry or with regards to their expected contribution to scientific understanding. Whilst exploratory groups aim to discover, explain and identify thinking, feeling and behaviour, clinical focus groups endeavour to uncover the motivations behind these things. Experiential groups, sometimes called phenomenological focus groups, seek to capture organic processes.

For the purposes of this study the participants were asked to discuss their experiences. Whilst a phenomenological method will not be employed to analyse the data, it is argued that such questions create the kind of explorative talk that will more readily demonstrate the co-constructed nature of discourse, revealing the “*performance*” of attitudes as opposed to their “*preformance*” (Puchta & Potter, 2004, p. 22, their emphases).

A favourable aspect of focus group material is that “discussions may reveal how opinions are created and above all changed, asserted, or suppressed in social exchange” (Flick, 2009, p. 201). For a study which aims to investigate talk interaction, group dynamics enable participants to support, challenge, develop and undermine the talk of others which can produce rich data for analysis (Willig, 2008a, p. 31).

In terms of setting up and running the focus groups much can go wrong, as their strengths can be their weaknesses. The participant-led aspect means that discussions can easily go off track, thereby increasing the researcher’s mediatory involvement, which will in turn raise further questions of direction. Dominant members of the groups may occlude quieter voices, limiting the opportunity to observe group co-creation. When running more than one focus group, the content of the data obtained from each group can differ so radically that it can be difficult to incorporate them within the same analysis. At page 43 of this chapter I describe the measures which were taken to prevent these complications.

Why Combine Methods of Data Collection

According to Morgan (1997) when combining qualitative methods, the goal should be “to use each method so that it contributes something unique to the researcher’s understanding of the phenomenon under study” (p. 3). The literature suggests that accountability is different in interviews to that of focus groups as these are distinct discursive conditions. Interviews encourage personal narratives, whereas focus groups tend to draw out opinions or views (Puchta & Potter, 2004, p. 19). It is the discussion of opinions which creates the breadth of data that I believed was probably not obtainable via one-to-one interviews. In spite of this, I felt unable to undertake a study using simply focus groups.

Initially the subject under investigation raised questions regarding data collection. With the resources available to recruit only 8 – 10 participants, I had concerns that interviews or focus groups alone would not produce enough data for analysis. I was unsure how easily participants would be able to engage with the topic of race and any related discussion of

prejudice it may evoke. As has been highlighted by Utsey, Gernat & Hammar (2005), differing levels of awareness and development can result in self censorship or reluctance to contribute when the focus of the group is racial issues.

The idea soon became formed that an approach which used an initial interview followed by participation in a focus group may offer a solution. The combination of both approaches would potentially create more data, compensating for deficiencies in the level of data produced by either or both methods. Furthermore, the incorporation of both methods would allow opportunities for those who found either setting inhibiting to speak more freely in the alternative condition.

An additional reason for the mixed method approach to data collection was my own close involvement with the subject under investigation. Whereas in interviews researchers may “typically use more subtle cues to control the direction of one-to-one interviews”, during focus groups the researcher gives control to the group and the discourse is considered participant-led (Morgan, 1997, pp. 10-11). I hoped that this would go some way to ensuring that any suggestion of a personal agenda would be more readily discerned during analysis.

Participants and Procedure

Participants

Participants were recruited via their training organisations. An information sheet (Appendix 2, page 128) was emailed to the course administrators of five training organisations within Greater London which run the counselling psychology PsychD programme. The information was internally disseminated to potential participants and participation was by self-selection.

A requirement of the study was that all participants were White trainee counselling psychologists. To increase homogeneity within the group the trainees were additionally required to be White British with English as their first language; however, this definition was self-produced. The study consisted of four female and four male participants coming from four of the five training organisations approached. A more complete description of the training organisations has been intentionally withheld so as to protect the participants' identities. The trainees ranged in age from 28 to 57 years and were between their second and fourth year of training.

Interview and Focus Group Procedures

All participants were interviewed at a time and place convenient to them, either their home, Roehampton University, or on one occasion my own home. The interview focus was limited to two questions (Appendix 1, page 127) and lasted between 14 and 41 minutes, the average being approximately 24 minutes long. Each interview was digitally recorded for later transcription. Informed consent was obtained from all participants prior to interview (Appendix 3, page 129), and at the conclusion of the interview participants were fully debriefed (Appendix 4, page 131), including as regards issues of confidentiality and right to withdraw. In addition to the debrief participants were asked to read and sign a form which confirmed the data collection process had been handled professionally and ethically (Appendix 5, page 133).

Following the interview, participants came to Roehampton University to take part in the focus group on a date and time convenient for all. In order for all the participants to have the space to contribute during the focus group, it was suggested that group sizes be limited to no more than six participants (Willig, 2008a), or generally to between four and eight participants (Smith, 2008). For the purpose of this study, the focus groups were limited to a maximum of four participants.

Owing to a slow recruitment process, each focus group was set up once four participants had been interviewed. The first group consisted of one male and three female trainees from two different training institutions, two of the participants were previously acquainted via their course. The second focus group contained only one female and two male trainees as one male trainee did not attend. These trainees were also from two separate training organisations but none of them were previously associated. The group sessions lasted 55:36 and 50:51 minutes respectively.

Once all of the participants had arrived, I welcomed them and set up both groups following a prepared script (Appendix 6, page 134). All participants were provided with a sheet with three questions (Appendix 7, page 135), the supplementary question requesting them to discuss the interview process. I asked the trainees to begin their discussion, and although I remained present in the room, on each occasion I moved to a corner and faced away from the group. Only once during the first group did I intervene to inform the participants they had around 10 minutes left and I directed their focus to the last question. During the second group, I said nothing throughout. Further consent, debrief and

confirmation of handling forms were signed by all participants and the focus group discussion was digitally recorded for later transcription.

Ethical Considerations

Following the British Psychological Society's Code of Human Research Ethics (2011) ethical principles and regulations were adhered to whilst conducting this research. An ethics application was put forward to the university ethics committee detailing how participants would be recruited and handled, and ethical approval was given (Appendix 8, page 136). All participants were treated respectfully and sensitively at all times and the following procedures were followed for each interview/focus group:

- Detailed information was given in the form of an information sheet and signed consent was obtained and witnessed in writing by the researcher
- Confidentiality confirmed except in the instance of concerns over personal safety
- Participants given the right to withdraw from the investigation at any time they wished
- All data gathered during this study have been held securely and anonymously allocating participant numbers and pseudonyms to protect participants' identity
- A written debrief was provided and post-interview support discussed for any issues which the interview/focus group process may have raised

Transcription

Several factors were relevant when considering the level and style of transcription for this study. Most importantly I needed to establish what I wanted the analysis to contribute in terms of understanding of the subject under investigation. Potter and Hepburn (2005) make a case for the inclusion of Jeffersonian transcription (Jefferson, 1985), adhering to the principles of the fine-grained conversation analytic style of analysis which provides a detailed record of interaction. Their argument suggests that simple orthographic transcription "misses potentially consequential interviewer actions" which are significant "elements to the development of...talk" (Potter & Hepburn, 2005, p. 288).

Wetherell and Potter (1992) and Wetherell (2003) note that transcription itself is a mode of analysis so that consideration must be given to what features of the discourse are significant. With this in mind, the researcher took the view that a style of transcription which leaned towards an orthographic style, was more relevant because the focus of the analysis

would be content based. The orthographic frame was used in Wetherell and Potter's (1992) seminal publication *Mapping the Language of Racism* where they state, "Our concern was principally with the content of discourse and with broad argumentative patterns. We were less interested in the moment-by-moment conversational coherence of the interviews" (p. 225).

Potter and Hepburn (2005) do acknowledge the reasoning for such a style of transcription. They note, "Researchers against using fuller transcript may build the case that for the analysis of the broader ideological content of talk, where the key thing is the words, categories and repertoires used, the representation of features of speech delivery will only get in the way" (p. 288). I believed that when I looked at the data in a conversation analytic way a sense of coherence was being lost.

Further support for an orthographic approach was additionally supplied by Wetherell (2003) where she discusses the subsequent more detailed transcription of three of the interviews from the (1992) publication for further analysis. She claims "I believe our original transcription was valid for the questions we asked of the data. Re-transcription has not altered any of our substantive conclusions" (Wetherell, 2003, p. 29).

In addition to the methodological debate I was also constrained by a significant lack of resources. In the time frame available (8 months), I was required to recruit the participants, collect the data from both conditions and transcribe all of the interviews and focus groups. It would simply not have been possible to make the transcription any more technical. To this end I have given a cursory nod towards Jefferson (1985) and have supplied a list of the conventions adopted in the introduction to the analysis (Table 1).

Table 1

Transcription Conventions	
(.)	Untimed pause
(1.5)	Timed (approximate) pause
-	Rapid movement from one unit to the next (more commonly =)
-----	Underlining : word or utterance delivered with emphasis
...	Omitted material
(laughter)	Transcriber's gloss on non-lexical matter
SHE	Capital letters : speech louder than surrounding talk

Additional features include bracketed comments in italics of the interviewer (*mhmm*) within a significant body of participant talk. This is also represented in the focus group data when other participants interject in similar way. Speech errors such as stutters and particles (e.g. umm) have been included in an effort to present all verbal materials. Question marks have been added to help coherency where applicable.

Analysis

When analysing the data I have broadly followed the guidelines for analysis provided by Potter and Wetherell (1987). My own interpretation of the coding process consisted of several readings of all the interview and focus group data, during which reoccurring themes of interest were identified which appeared to be related to the research question. Initially all relevant statements were placed in one of three thematic categories: *1. Assumptions, 2. Training, 3. Expert Vs Naive Practitioner.*

As is suggested by Potter and Wetherell (1987, p. 167), all “borderline” and vague instances were included, and if data appeared relevant to more than one category, they were accordingly duplicated. Once the transcripts were organised into the three bodies of more manageable data, I began to comb through each category in depth, looking for clearer patterns within the data.

I began by looking for 'interpretive repertoires', described as "recurrently used systems of terms used for characterizing and evaluating actions, events and other phenomena" (*ibid*, p. 149). These are often bodies of discourse which represent the commonsense (but contradictory) ways that people discuss the social world "often assembled around metaphors or vivid images" (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, p. 90). However, despite the term 'interpretive repertoire' being more commonly used within CDP, I took the view that the constructions I was beginning to group together did not fit comfortably under this heading. For this reason I have employed the wider term, 'discursive field', to describe three substantial bodies of discursive resources which are represented throughout much, if not all, the data.

I would describe the construct 'discursive field' as a body of discourse which is informed by particular ideological principles. Whilst such discourse is not without metaphor and imagery, constructions relating to each field can be more readily grouped together via the ideological principles which inform their construction. In this case, ideological principles informing distinct efforts to reduce racism and racial prejudice.

These ideologically informed master fields were congruent with those recognised by Gordon (1996) and previously described in the body of research supporting this research project (pages 24-25). For the purpose of analysis they have been labelled as: 1. *Colour-blindness*, 2. *Interculturalism*, 3. *Pluralism*. My attention was quickly drawn to the complex interplay of these three discursive fields and their functions. This discovery of overarching significance became an umbrella frame for the analysis proper.

At this point I re-categorised the data in accordance with the newly recognised three discursive fields. I re-coded the interview and focus group data as it related to the alternative ideologies of colour-blindness, interculturalism and pluralism. I began to identify bodies of talk where each discursive field could be considered distinct, but more interestingly, it was becoming evident that at times these ideologies appeared to intermingle and coalesce. I became intrigued to discover what was producing this theoretical incoherence and a deeper analysis commenced.

What became clear upon further examination of the data was the presence of subject positions, which appeared to converge into the three overarching seemingly omnipresent discursive fields. CDP regards identities as multiple and shifting throughout the constructive process. The notion of subject positions refers to discursive resources which enable the formation of identities. This discursive model of the self suggests that "there is not 'one' self

waiting to be discovered or uncovered but a multitude of selves found in the different kinds of linguistic practices articulated now, in the past, historically and cross-culturally” (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 102). From this perspective self-constructions are culturally relevant and purposeful. They are enabled or constrained by the discourses which are available within a discursive environment, in this case the interview and focus group data of White British counselling psychology trainees, discussing training and work within the field of racial difference.

The subject positions of expert and naïve practitioner had been apparent from very early in the analysis and these maintained their importance. As a trainee myself I was intrigued by the relationship of these positions to the trainees’ formation of a professional identity, and the rights and expectations which came with each position. As the analysis progressed, it became clear that the more I tried to group passages of talk under the two positions, the less clear-cut this positional division was. This informed the identification of additional subject positions, which illuminated the rich complexity of constructions which trainees had drawn on to represent themselves and their practice.

Continued scrutiny of the data identified talk which acknowledged the presence of racial prejudice within trainees. However, deeper reading also discerned constructions which implicitly or explicitly located racism in the other. This area of discourse was also of significance as it appeared to tie into the ‘prejudice problematic’, so labelled by Wetherell and Potter (1992) and Wetherell (2012), since it raises concerns about our understanding of the presence and reproduction of racism. Accordingly, extracts were collated which were representative of the discourses and subject positions relative to this point of interest.

Throughout the process of identifying the types of talk which produced the aforementioned discourses and subject positions, the relationship of each of these to the three abovementioned discursive fields was crystallising. The subject positions recognised within the data could all be situated more widely in the three overarching discursive fields, this meta-narrative adding something distinct and interesting to the analysis.

Within the analytical process I was also identifying ideological dilemmas as they appeared within the data. These inconsistencies in everyday talk sometimes described as ‘rhetorical commonplaces’ (Billig, 1996), consist of “frequently used rhetoric and commonsense folk wisdom shared by both speaker and audience” (Dickerson, 2012, p. 256). They often appear as competing truisms such as ‘great minds think alike’ and ‘fools seldom differ’.

It is suggested that the presence of these contradictions within people's talk, points to the fluidity of one's beliefs and values. The deconstruction of texts aims to identify the dilemmas which may arise from their complex and contradictory nature. Throughout the analytical process attention has been drawn to these ideological dilemmas, acknowledging their conflicting nature.

Finally, relevant extracts were selected for representation within the written analytical report. The following chapter begins by outlining each section of the analysis, identifying the extracts used and the point they are deemed to support, thus enabling easy navigation of the analytical report.

Chapter 4

Analysis

Overview

At the outset I would like to acknowledge that the extracts used in this analysis are complex and multifaceted, and thereby are able to illustrate more than one point. At each stage of the analysis extracts have been grouped together which support the argument I am attempting to make at that time. However, at other stages of the analysis the same extracts may be used to support an alternative point, as is typical of discourse interpretation.

The write up of the analysis begins with extracts which express the presence of the three discursive fields of 'colour-blindness', 'interculturalism' and 'pluralism'. However, rather than appearing as distinct ideological stances maintained by individuals throughout the data collection process, this analysis contends that these discursive fields are fluid, interchangeable and co-habited, highlighting the co-creative process of talk interaction. These fields have been illustrated and defined in the earlier literature review (pages 24-25).

Extracts (1) (2) and (3) form a continuous piece from a single participant interview. The data have been separated to illustrate how throughout the interview the participant moves from one discursive field to another, utilising all of the three fields identified within Gordon's (1996) paper.

Extract (4) taken from an alternative participant interview demonstrates how the three discursive fields have been alternatively occupied within one brief paragraph. Extracts (5) and (6) are from a further participant interview within which the trainee similarly appears to navigate all three areas. Each of the extracts has been unpacked and, where relevant, I have identified the possible function of each discursive field.

In an effort to demonstrate the interact-ional nature of these three discursive fields, extracts (7) (8) (9) and (10) follow a sequence of dialogue from the focus group. In this case the data have been reduced to four extracts to make analysis more manageable for both the reader and myself.

In particular the complete analysis makes the case for the omnipresence of the three discursive fields within the data. It appears that, no matter what is being said, one could argue that one of the three areas is always being inhabited. This idea is taken forward and

throughout the analysis, as discursive positions are identified, their relationship to the aforementioned discursive fields is noted. In addition, an overview of this feature of the analysis is provided diagrammatically (page 97) within the concluding discussion section of this analysis, titled 'Final Thoughts'.

The second section of the analysis is labelled 'naïve and expert practitioners' and attempts to understand how the trainees' talk legitimises the position of 'naïve practitioner', and offers a rationale for the 'expert practitioner' position within the study's area of focus.

Extracts (11) (12) (13) (14) and (15) identify how five of the eight trainees begin their interviews by mitigating any subsequent positioning of themselves as naïve, implicitly constructing naivety as unhelpful. This then leads into the duplicate use of extracts (2) and (5), which both support the position of 'expert practitioner' as one who can be trained to do the work of 'intercultural therapy'. Extracts (16) (17) and (18) then serve as rebuttal to the position of 'expert practitioner', with three participants occupying the 'good to be naïve' position. Here constructions support a naïve questioning stance to their own therapeutic work, eschewing common references to groups and generalised theories of intercultural practice.

Extracts (19) (20) and (21) attempt to offer a binocular view and identify talk which appears to combine theories associated with both naïve and expert practitioner discourses, positioning trainees as 'naïve yet informed'. In addition, a section of focus group data has been used for extract (22) which illustrates how trainees co-construct a reasoned account for being positioned as 'naïve yet informed'.

Finally, the specific negativity associated with some aspects of racial naivety from a White perspective is constructed in extracts (23) (24) and (25) with the identification of the 'naively White British' position. Here trainees construct their struggle to work in multi-racial environments or cross-culturally without causing offence.

The third and final section of the analysis relates to an area of talk labelled 'victims of discourse'. This section examines passages of discourse which contain constructions that account for the presence of racial stereotypes and other prejudicial significations within the talk of the trainees and the wider population in general.

The first position labelled as 'the socially constructed position' is represented by extracts (26) (27) and (28). Here trainees explore how prejudicial significations come to be represented in contemporary discourse. The stereotypical assumptions which inform

prejudice are constructed as part of contemporary discourse, and thereby unavoidable within one's own speech. Extracts (29) and (30) offer 'the mediated position', where the media is represented as a factor in the perpetuation of racial stereotypes.

Extracts (31) (32) (33) and (34) offer 'the distanced position', where trainees use implicit and explicit self/other contrasts as a method of impression management. The final extracts (35) and (36) provide the data for the last position presented within this analysis, 'the reflective position'. Here trainees' talk is interpreted as orientating to potential issues of accountability which may arise from aspects of their talk which could be considered as prejudicial.

1. Colour-blindness, Interculturalism and Pluralism

1.1 Navigation of Alternative Discursive Fields

The following three extracts from the interview between myself and a trainee referred to as David offer a simple understanding of the ideological inconsistencies present in the discourse presented within this analysis. This extract follows a discussion where I asked David how he thought training in the area of racial difference might be delivered. David's response appeared to suggest that cultural difference could be more usefully taught than generalisations relating to racial difference, having previously described 'race' as socially constructed and as such a contentious method of categorisation.

Extract (1)

(R) Do you think that cross-cultural work could be developed?

(D) That I definitely do think I-I mean I -I think (.) yeah cos I think cul I mean I-I mean I-it's I-I don't really have an entirely clear idea of what I think (.) the difference between race or culture is or (.) whether either of them exist particularly but (.) that to me seems like a slightly more (2.0) valid exercise cos I think (2.0) cos I think culture is something which (.) is probably als-well I-I mean yeah m-maybe it's socially constructed but it sort of seems to admit that it is socially constructed more cos it is-I-I mean that's what it is and (.) you know we (.) define wi-well it seems to be we tend to define culture as something which is (.) um (.) which is constructed by people it's a constructed identity or w-whatever you wanna call it so (.) so to kind of (.) to you know put across (.) our current understanding of those things (.) um albeit in a kind of (1.5) in-in a way that accepts that changes to those things might happen and may exist in different areas I think (.) I think that would be a useful thing...

Initially David's response 'disclaims' (Goodman & Burke, 2010; Goodman, 2008; van Dijk, 1992) any position he may be accused of taking when offering a point of view. My initial interpretation would be that the assertion that maybe neither 'race' nor 'culture' particularly exist is presented via the discursive field of 'colour-blindness' which excludes racial difference, and can thereby reject the existence of racism and its potentially devastating consequences for those it affects. However, on deeper analysis I believe it may be more reasonable to say that David draws on the language of social constructionism and as such his talk is merely questioning his position rather than occupying a position. In my haste to offer evidence of the existence of all three discursive fields, my first interpretive thoughts could be considered to over-interpret a subtle reference to colour-blindness.

Thereafter, the talk then turns towards the possibility of teaching cultural differences, implicitly suggesting that, although these may be subject to change, there are generalisations

one may draw on to explain groups of people who are racially different to oneself, generalisations which can usefully inform and support one's therapeutic work in this area. Here the discourse moves into the realm of the proposed discursive field of 'interculturalism'. One interpretation of the discourses which inhabit the field of 'interculturalism' is that differences may be too readily applied to other racial groups wholesale, creating stereotypical assumptions which can limit one's openness to the other and to their therapeutic needs. The interview with David continues as follows in the next extract.

Extract (2)

(D)...for example when we had kind of two (.) sessions the group that I'm in at the moment on um (.) on psychosis and we looked at kind of cultural um (1.0) approaches and sort of understandings of that and that was that was very helpful I think um (1.5) so I mean in terms of developing that um (.) yeah maybe there could be a bit more I think um (.) and yeah I think I think I think there could be an and may I mean maybe there could be more (1.5) in terms of what's happening in the UK...every different kind of environment has its own cultural makeup so-so-I-so I guess to kind of to specifically (.) think about those kind of issues and (.) you know to read case studies or kind of reports written by people who've (.) worked in (.) I dunno like worked in south London or north London or Birmingham kind of with different (.) populations with different cultural aspects I think that probably would be a helpful thing yeah,

(R) Mmhmm

(D) so maybe that could be bumped up a bit.

The discursive field of 'interculturalism' is again inhabited when David explains a recent training experience which he considered helpful. One characteristic of constructions associated with this discursive field is their argument for the existence of culturally prescribed ways of understanding people and their pathologies. This assertion is made by David with his suggestion that professionals who work in culturally diverse areas within the UK may have experiences that can inform our understanding of how best to work with people who are culturally different from ourselves.

Although the discourses which support diversity set out to quash the "imposition of majority group values on minority clients" (Ridley, 1995, p. 49), ironically the flip-side of the discursive field of 'interculturalism' may be understood as implicitly acknowledging a white-centric interpretation of the world, the norm that all others deviate from. Since in the UK we inhabit a predominately White society and indeed work in a predominately White profession, the production of racial or cultural knowledge may still be informed by discriminatory self/other contrasts. These contrasts may implicitly or explicitly be made manifest within the

therapeutic encounter, and more widely may subtly maintain racial power imbalances within society.

Lago (2006) drawing on Fryer (1984) offers a sobering historical exposé of the rise of the British Empire and the role that racism played in supporting the ideology behind Britain's ascension to eventual 'superpower' status. Historically the White British contrasted themselves favourably against anyone with different coloured skin, adding more credence to their claims to superiority. Fryer (1984) provides a genealogical analysis of the role of racism in Britain from 1504 onwards, highlighting a "strident pseudo-scientific mythology" as the "most important ingredient in British imperial theory" (p. 165).

Fryer contends that racism gained momentum as scientists and academics alike espoused the view "that only people with white skin were capable of thinking and governing", this view only having "lost intellectual respectability" since the 1940s and 50s (*ibid*, p. 169) (all cited in Lago, 2006, p. 27). Unfortunately, the legacy of this ideology of supremacy has been identified in van Dijk's studies of elite discourse (1993), who argues that the reproduction of "multiple acts of exclusion, inferiorisation or marginalisation" sustain racial inequality (p. 192).

This study takes the view that the assumptions contained in the discourses related to the field of 'interculturalism', carrying the suggestion of contrasting knowable quantities of the 'racially' differing other, can result in the continued positioning of people of other 'races' or 'cultures' as in some way inferior to our society's prevailing White majority, despite the intention being precisely the opposite.

The final extract continues with the interview with David and notes the appearance of the third of the three aforementioned theoretical discursive fields.

Extract (3)

(R) Sure (.) Okay and um (.) moving onto your personal experiences (*yeah*) uh can you recall any of your experiences of working with clients who were racially different to yourself or culturally different how-how you'd like to describe them?

(D) Um yeah I mean (.) there are (.) there are a few (.) clients who I've had (.) this year um (.) actually thinking about it (1.5) I suppose (3.0) two you would probably call (.) racially different although one of those I would say was culturally quite similar and the other was culturally less similar um (.) and um my experience of that well (2.5) (sighs) I don't-I don't know it's-it's funny really I mean I-I think (.) the (4.0) I mean I-I there I expect people to be different to each other really um and (.) I expect people to be individuals and so kind I don't-I mean I don't really feel like there was a huge difference with those clients to (.) any other clients and what I mean by that is I don't-well what I

don't mean is that there was no difference between those and other clients but I think in the way that I (.) approach them I don't think there was a great feeling that I had to do something different um (.) I-I mean just with with an emphasis kind of trying to be on understanding people's individual experience

In this extract the discursive field of 'pluralism' is occupied where the uniqueness of the other is accentuated by the desire to understand "*people's individual experience*". The speaker acknowledges that differences are present between himself and the other but he now seemingly rejects the propositions contained in the discourses of 'interculturalism' which espouse common understandings of these differences; common understandings which will potentially influence one's therapeutic work.

I would contend that an organic meeting between two people becomes less possible when one arrives at the therapeutic encounter filled with preconceptions. It may be argued that this circumstance is inevitable; however, racial and cultural assumptions can become so reductive, they may often be perceived as naïve, or patronising. Either of these experiences potentially having a negative impact on the therapeutic work.

Attention is also drawn to the contradiction present in this and the opening extract. In the first extract David denies an understanding of what the terms 'race' or 'culture' might mean and questions their existence as knowable categories. This acts as a disclaimer for any of the associated opinions related to either construct which are to follow. However, in the third extract, there appears to be no ambiguity related to either term or the distinction between them. The talk conveys a pre-existing understanding of the constructs of 'race' and 'culture' and how both are used to identify difference and similarity between people.

Lentin (2005) provides an illuminating discussion of the replacing of 'race' with 'culture' as supported by the 'UNESCO tradition' (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) of anti-racism. Lentin notes, "[w]hereas 'race' was seen as irrevocably invoking the superiority of some human groups over others, culture was assumed by anti-racist scholars on both sides of the Atlantic to imply a positive celebration of difference while allowing for the possibility for progress among groups once considered 'primitive'" (*ibid*, p. 379). However, she argues that "such a shift..., merely replacing 'race' with 'culture', fails to expunge the ranking of humanity implied by theories of 'race'" (*ibid*, p. 379). I propose that this discursive shift is evident in the previous extracts and in many of the subsequent ones, and is drawn on as an 'anti-racist' construction.

1.2 Discursive Field Cohabitation

The following extract taken from an interview with a trainee identified as Lucy offers a similar example of the appearance of all three of the discursive fields within a single paragraph.

Extract (4)

(L) I feel that actually a lot of my training really comes from (.) actually working learning from the clients as well (.) learning from the clients about (.) difference and I found that in my very first placement when I was working with children (.) as well I was working with three children (.) who were all from a different ethnic origin than myself and actually they educated me about difference whether it was just kind of culturally (.) or about things that were going on in their family or just about where they were from um (.) and that really wasn't from any training it was just from kind of being with them (*mhmm*) in the room (.) and I think it's one of those things do you (1.5) should we be aff - are we affected by it do we notice race in the room is there or do we not (*Mmm*) you know I think we can kind of (.) cling onto it as err (.) something that we um (1.0) should be affected by where actually it might make no difference whatsoever

This extract identifies a particularly complex interplay between the three fields under examination. When explaining her experience of training and personal development, Lucy inhabits the discursive field of 'interculturalism', identifying her clients as ethnically different to herself. However, as she constructs an explanation of the educative nature of this experience, it is argued that the talk can be read as moving into the discursive field of 'pluralism'. Cultural differences are distilled down to familial idiosyncrasies and local knowledge of the area the client inhabits, demonstrating the complexity of understanding someone who is different to oneself.

After supporting a pluralistic version of practice Lucy engages in a rhetorical debate, within which she questions the place of 'race' within the therapeutic encounter. This discussion culminates in Lucy positioning herself as colour-blind by proposing that 'race' may have no relevance to the therapeutic encounter. In just one paragraph, the talk rollercoaster's through all three discursive fields, revealing their complicated co-existence within the field of counselling psychology.

1.3 From One Field to Another

In the following two extracts from an interview with a trainee named Justin, once again the three discursive fields can be clearly identified. Extract number (5) is taken from a passage of the interview where Justin is describing his own training needs and how he has tried to meet these.

Extract (5)

(J) I think some people who are more London based take it a bit for granted (.) (*Mmmm*) umm (.) and I think there's the danger in that if we do take it for granted then (.) we can become "oh it's fine I don't see colour" which is (.) (*Mmmm*) which is crap (*yeah yeah*)

(R) So then you went off and read (.) (*yeah*) and you found the book back to basics kind of thing?

(J) It really was it was kind of the umm (.) it kind of did give some nice examples of (.) I suppose differences in culture and (.) and I suppose actually maybe I wanted to know more about the culture (.) to be lazy so then I could get it from the one place rather than they would encourage you to go off and learn about the cultures'...it provided a nice framework if you have never thought about those things (.) but I kind of maybe wanted to go to the actual level (.) but nowhere really did it (.) I suppose maybe this is also me wanting to kind of have a real manual of how to handle it in a session or (.) and how it would come up

My early interpretation of this extract argued that Justin's talk begins by acknowledging his own potential for colour-blindness, although somewhat mitigating this position as a by-product of living in London, where racial difference is ubiquitous, thereby creating an absence of difference via its omnipresence. However, further analysis would suggest that Justin is pointing to the negative qualities of colour-blindness rather than producing discourse which inhabits this discursive field. His reference to the "*danger*" of colour-blindness would suggest that Justin is occupying an informed position from which he is able to critically deconstruct prejudicial discourses, either his own or others. Once again my early thoughts have over-interpreted the reference to colour-blindness, my analytical search for such making these references more salient than the surrounding talk.

Justin's talk follows with discourse allied with the discursive field of 'interculturalism', where in contrast to the talk of colour-blindness, Justin is speaking of a desire to identify homogeneous cultural differences which one may use to build a picture of how to approach working with difference in therapeutic work. This practice of oversimplification is endorsed by the trainee's uncertainty and the need for a "*manual*".

There is a distinct contrast here. Initially, when discussing the negative qualities of 'colour-blindness', the trainee describes racial difference as a ubiquitous backdrop to London life. Conversely, when talk moves into the discursive field of 'interculturalism', 'race' becomes salient and of great significance - if one doesn't know, how can one do the work of intercultural therapy. Therapy is positioned as a special place where difference is emphasised and specific knowledge of the other is required.

Extract (6)

(J) I would love to have one (.) broad brush (.) to it but there's not and I think that's what I didn't like from the book because it was very (.) umm (.) It gave a lot of questions but really kind of no answers (.) but I think that's maybe because there are no simple answers

In this last extract the field of 'pluralism' emerges as Justin arrives at a place which acknowledges the complexities involved when working with someone who is racially different to oneself. This discursive field allows space for uncertainty - uncertainty which is avoided with the understanding provided by intercultural knowledge.

My own reading of Gordon's (1996) paper understands him to be proposing that, as counselling and psychotherapy have progressed, the three aforementioned discursive fields have eclipsed each other, emulating a paradigmatic shift from one field to another. The discourse of 'interculturalism', "placing difference at the centre of therapy", being a response to the colour-blind approach, "an attitude which held that racial, ethnic or national differences in the therapeutic relationship did not matter,...pretending that some-how we are all the same whatever the colour of our skins" (*ibid*, p. 197).

Gordon's paper examines the implications of an intercultural approach; in particular those associated with making difference a more salient feature of any therapeutic encounter. Following this examination, Gordon's paper introduces the more recently recognised discourse of pluralism and highlights the positive features of the 'pluralistic' discursive field where difference is not denied or privileged. However, the present study has found that all of these discursive fields are inhabited by trainees' talk, suggesting that their prevalence is not restricted to evolutionary time periods, training institutions or even individuals.

The above extracts are taken from the one-to-one interviews. In an effort to more clearly appreciate the proposed interact-ional nature of discourses related to the three discursive fields, the following four extracts are taken from one of the focus groups where trainees discussed their training and work in the area of racial difference.

1.4 Which Field Supports Best Practice?

This piece of focus group interaction examined involves the participants identified as Sophie, David, Penny and Annabel. Whilst discussing their experience of training, the talk moves to the business of establishing an effective method of teaching how one might work with racial difference.

Extract (7)

(S) Mmm (.) so there is something there isn't there I think from what both of you have said about (.) and please (.) correct me if I'm-if I'm not quite getting it (.) that actually the way to teach about race and racial prejudice and discrimination (.) is to try and open up people's ideas (.) to not thinking about people in boxes (.)

(D) Yeah yeah I guess yeah I mean I guess so because I was thinking that probably the worst way you could do it would be to (.) sort of say well you know "if you were dealing with someone from a (.) South Asian background then they are most likely to have-to have you know problems in" (*Mmm*) you know "don't address religion" or something (.) and that's seems to me to be something (.) you know that would be a bad way to teach it particularly in the (.) in the field of counselling psychology which has (.) well I suppose it's quite kind of embedded in (.) where ever you are training quite a sort of humanistic and (.) you know (.) to do with individual experience (*Mmm, Mmm*) um so yeah (.) yeah I agree

(S) But I mean I am just thinking of my own experience whilst training last year I was working with a lady who (.) umm was from a very different (.) ethnic and racial background (.) and so I assumed sort of a naïve position (.) and particularly about um religion because she was Muslim but she was dressed in western clothes (.) and part of it was to see how much of it was her identity and when I sat there and asked her a question you know (.) along the lines of (.) "could you describe what it means to be a Muslim women?" (.) she looked at me as if I was completely stupid (.) So I wonder if there is a sense that people do expect you to come (.) especially if they see you in an expert role (.) with some understanding of who they are

(P) Hmmm (.) (*mm*) how on earth would you know what her experience was as a Muslim woman? (*yeah*)

(S) That was my position

(P) Umm (.) (*exactly*) even if you were a Muslim yourself (.) (*yeah*) (*exactly*) let's say you were dressed - she was dressed in traditional clothes and you weren't (.) how would you know what her experience was I mean – I mean (1.0) um in a way that-that perhaps isn't a fair question from the client

(S) Mmm

The discussion moves between the discursive fields of 'pluralism' and 'interculturalism'. Sophie and David begin by comparing both pluralistic and intercultural teaching methods.

Sophie draws on the metaphor of boxes which represents the stereotypical nature of assumptions and generalisations inherent in the field of 'interculturalism'. The box metaphor offers an effective image of the limiting potential of the discourse of 'interculturalism', where generalised theories applied to our understanding of those racially different to ourselves may prevent us from moving beyond the stereotype.

This method of approaching intercultural therapy is then positioned as contrary to the philosophical underpinnings of counselling psychology. David draws on the discourse of humanistic psychology to support his pluralistic outlook and his rejection of the intercultural approach to teaching.

Humanistic psychology emerged in the 1930s and takes its lead as a discipline from theorists such as Rollo May, Carl Rogers, and Abraham Maslow. As a response to the narrow view of human beings offered by behaviourism, it proposes a holistic view of the person, favouring inter-subjective understanding of the other, thereby embracing a phenomenological perspective.

In terms of creating a perspective which does not hold one group as inferior to another, humanistic psychology's focus on the individual and their unique and equal potential, seems the perfect antidote to any claims to superiority. However, humanistic psychology's focus on equality is criticised for its neglect of other significant factors which are the cause of inequalities such as disability, socio-economic status and any forms of prejudice (Rowan, 2001). This neglect of difference is also the principle behind the colour-blind position.

Yet, interestingly, David draws on humanistic theory in support of a pluralistic position. This discursive co-habitation illuminates the lack of division the researcher suggests can be ascribed to Gordon's three theoretical discursive fields, and points to a more complex interplay of ideologies, all of which, it is argued, may reproduce racism and racial prejudice.

Sophie's next statement positions the client as the expert about herself, in Gordon's terms deep within the discursive field of 'pluralism' where '*Every* encounter in therapy is an encounter with the unknown, with difference' (Gordon, 1996, p. 207, his emphasis). The rhetoric of 'pluralism' is present in the work of post-modern theorists such as House (2003) and Parker (1999), where 'profession-centred therapy' and 'evidence based practice' are interrogated. The ideology present in this discursive field is best represented in the words of

Richard House, taken from his nought to twenty point framework for a “post-profession-centred, deconstructive-critical therapy”:

“first, it would essentially eschew preconceived theoretical frameworks-having an inclusive, pluralistic approach to diverse, “local” “knowledges” which values (for example) intuitive, spiritual, and feminist “knowing” at least as highly as rational-empirical knowledge...and would follow Wilfred Bion’s suggestion that, as far as possible, the therapist enter the consulting room free of memory, desire or understanding...*second*, it will tend to embrace a postmodernist, deconstructionist epistemology...rather than the essentially positivistic, modernist agenda that dominates so much of the therapy world...*third* and relatedly, it will tend to gravitate towards a so-called New paradigm, spiritual, transpersonal, or even mystical ontology which recognises the ultimately ineffable nature of human life and existence (House, 2003, p. 238, his emphases).

However, Sophie’s talk addresses the dilemma associated with taking such a postmodern approach suggesting that the demand to be ingenuous leaves her positioned as unprofessional and obtuse. Sophie constructs a sense of discord between herself and the client, the implication of which is that such an attitude towards understanding the other is unhelpful and potentially divisive to the therapeutic relationship.

The centrality of a good therapeutic relationship to all forms of dyadic therapy is commonly regarded as one of the most important factors for successful therapy (Clarkson, 2003; Cooper, 2008; & Khan, 1997). A meta-analysis of forty-seven studies by Bohart, Elliott, Greenberg and Watson (2002) suggested that empathy was one of the most significant factors within a strong therapeutic alliance, claiming that ‘client-perceived empathy predicted outcome better than observer- or therapist-rated empathy’ (Elliott, Bohart, Watson & Greenberg, 2011, p. 135). Sophie’s positioning of herself as unprofessional and obtuse arguably limits any potential she has of being considered empathic by her client. This dilemma returns the talk to the discursive field of ‘interculturalism’ and the merits of an approach informed by such principles, in spite of Sophie’s previous portrayal of its dangers via her metaphorical use of the box.

The extract concludes with Penny supporting Sophie by mobilising a discourse found in the field of ‘pluralism’, recognising the difference which may be present given that Sophie’s

client is described as Muslim, but arguing that the client's experience as a female Muslim will be unique to her. The conversation continues as follows:

Extract (8)

(D) It kind of - I mean it-it-it touches on something which (.) which I remember in the initial interview I sort of began to think about (.) about my own experience I kind of (.) I thought that (.) you know is it naïve of me to think (1.0) that (.) I shouldn't in a way use any (1.0) I suppose umm (.) kind of group evidence of the way that people behave or (.) you know and-and-and that I should assume (.) that everyone (.) is going to be utterly individual (.) um and to approach them in that way because that is the sort of way I feel like I want too (.) um I want to approach clients or you know people I come into contact with in this situation (.) umm (.) and it's kind of the way that I think (.) I hope (.) I do - but maybe that's just naïve (.) maybe I am being (.) you know maybe I do need to think about (.) umm you know patterns of the way that people behave or

(P) Well (.) but can you make any (.) you know generalisations (*well*) about patterns of any culture in some ways I mean (.) you know (.) I think it's helpful if you have some knowledge perhaps of their area (.) (*yeah*) knowledge of their Country (.) um (.) in some way (.) So you know I had an Ethiopian client (*yeah*) an alcoholic (.) (*yeah*) umm and I asked him if he was religious because I know that a lot of Ethiopians are Coptic Christians (.) (*yeah*) umm and are quite religious people (.) (*yeah*) and his response was "oh yes" you know "and I haven't been going to church lately because I've been drinking and I'm ashamed (.) but I really would like to get better in touch with my community again over here and go back to church" and so that was a huge strength to build on wasn't it (.) (*mm*) um (.) and so you know but I didn't (.) you know I tried to put the questions in such a way to not assume that he was religious (.) but I used my knowledge of that

David moves between the discursive fields of 'pluralism' and 'interculturalism' and, following on from Sophie, he appears to question his own assumptions. The word 'naïve' has been used again, but instead of referring to a position of adopted naivety where a slightly artless approach to the work is conveyed, in David's construction, the word appears to suggest the idea of being a 'naive practitioner', reflecting the inexperience which is conveyed in Sophie's earlier statement. It must be noted that, within the discourse of 'interculturalism', the need to possess knowledge about the other is constructed as important to one's professional practice, and appears to be linked to the trainee's self-image as a capable practitioner. This touches on the associated discursive positions of 'expert practitioner' and 'naive practitioner' which will be examined in greater detail below.

This question of capability continues into Penny's discourse, where again generalised knowledge of the other is constructed as helpful to the work and hence to the trainee's level of competence. However, the paragraph begins by questioning whether generalisations and

patterns of other 'races/cultures' can ever be known, but then moves into assumptions about the religious practices of Ethiopians. In the next extract David's talk also displays this discursive incongruence as he begins to question any hope of maintaining a pluralistic position:

Extract (9)

(D) Yeah (.) no I see exactly what you mean (.) I mean but then I wonder you know does any knowledge (1.0) about (.) what you know a group or you know what happens in Ethiopia or what happens anywhere else or in England or in Wales or anything (.) you know does that (1.0) are we are we just (.) are we necessarily prejudiced I mean I kind of think we (.) we probably are. You know we try and (.) we try and (.) approach people individually but we all know things (.) or we all think things about (.) different groups of people because of what we have experienced and because of what we have been taught and (.) is it naïve to think those aren't in some way playing a part (.) even if we would like them not to or we don't sort of feel that in a (.) attentive or conscious way

(P) But that's useful information

(D) It-It is

(P) it's not prejudiced information

(D) well (.) well maybe it's useful or maybe it's not

Here David proposes that previously recorded information informs our actions. The stereotypical assumptions associated with the discourses of 'interculturalism' are constructed as implicitly part of everyone, and therefore we are unable to free ourselves from them. David positions himself and his colleagues as prejudiced by default, an area of talk the researcher has labelled 'victims of discourse'. Various positions constructed in relation to this prejudicial passivity are studied in the third section of the present analysis.

In the final extract, which concludes this exchange between the four participants, Annabel attempts to reconcile the differing strands of belief and opinion which are present in the trainees' talk:

Extract (10)

(A) Well isn't that where being a reflective practitioner comes in (1.0) *(mm)* so it's "are you aware of this (.) *(mm)* are you considering what you are bringing into the room" *(well that's the-that's the yeah)* and that's what balances so if we're saying okay if you read some anthropology about the cultural background of (.) of a client or you go in and your-you're aware that you approach (1.5) the MIND in a Western individualised way but that a client (.) comes from a very different culture in which they take a more sort of communal approach to these things and you go oh "okay well the scientific practitioner

in me is gonna (.) umm (.) you know maybe do some reading around this and maybe see what have people done what have people found what people have said about this culture” and I'm not-not necessarily saying observers from our own culture (*yeah, yeah, yeah*) you know and then you balance that with the kind of (.) the humanistic “and you are your own individual and I'm not making any assumptions but I do have this knowledge in case it comes in useful” (.) (*yeah yeah*) and then I guess the third thing is the “and I am aware that I am also (.) bringing my own assumptions that when I see someone wearing a hijab I think da, da, da, da”

Annabel draws on popular constructions of counselling psychology practice in an effort to combine the discursive fields of ‘pluralism’ and ‘interculturalism’ within counselling psychology. Annabel mixes the title ‘reflective practitioner’, which according to Strawbridge and Woolfe (2010) “keep[s] practitioners alive to the uniqueness and uncertainty of practice situations” (p. 7), with the discourse of a ‘scientist practitioner’, which “suggests an engagement in research and the role of the practitioner as producer, as well as user, of knowledge and understanding” (*ibid*, p. 6).

I believe that the complex interplay of the three discursive fields of ‘colour-blindness’, ‘interculturalism’ and ‘pluralism’ represents the state of confusion that counselling psychology may exhibit because of its complex epistemological roots. The quandary portrayed offers a valuable example of the efforts that have been made to fuse modern and postmodern theories within counselling psychology.

This theoretical fusion is acutely evident in the *Guidelines for Professional Practice in Counselling Psychology* (2005) where the following definition of counselling psychology is given:

“Counselling Psychology has developed as a branch of professional psychological practice strongly influenced by human science research as well as the principal psychotherapeutic traditions. Counselling psychology draws upon and seeks to develop phenomenological models of practice and enquiry in addition to that of traditional scientific psychology. It continues to develop models of practice and research which marry the scientific demand for rigorous empirical enquiry with a firm base grounded in the primacy of the counselling or psychotherapeutic relationship” (p. 1).

1.5 Summary

The preceding analysis has identified the presence of all three discursive fields, 'colour-blindness', 'interculturalism' and 'pluralism' in the talk of the trainee counselling psychologists. Although they are present, significations relating to the field of colour-blindness are not well represented in the data. Nonetheless, when the talk inhabits this discursive field, it is shaped by the liberal ideology of equal opportunities. What seems to be at stake is the image of the trainees as egalitarians offering a prejudice-free relationship to all.

David's talk in extract (1) is underpinned by a social-anthropological discourse which argues against biological differences. Lucy in extract (4) positions herself as colour-blind via a discourse which questions the place of racial difference within the therapeutic encounter, arguably constructing equivalence between herself and her clients. As has been noted, this exclusion of racial difference, although well meaning in its intention, can discount racism and other forms of prejudice. In the counselling setting clients' experiences of racism may be reduced to common acts of bullying entirely losing their prejudicial significance. Therapists may interpret incidents of discrimination as an interpersonal problem, misconstruing this as a universal experience. Such a perspective discounts the reality of being vulnerable to discrimination simply because of a pre-existing 'racial/cultural' difference.

The notion of equality is also fundamental to the discourses of 'pluralism'; however here the sentiment is somewhat different. Whilst the constructions related to the discursive field of 'colour-blindness' characterise a level playing field which simultaneously acknowledges difference, the discourse of 'pluralism' represents the always unique and ineffable nature of being human, the latter constructing difference as omnipresent which is never denied or privileged. In principle, this discursive field allows for the uncertainty which is necessary for the practice of counselling psychology.

Additionally, the lack of any clear discursive division in the data also suggests that these differing ideologies are not distinct and separate for the trainees. Evidence for this is found in extract (7) where David draws on counselling psychology's historical association with humanistic psychology, the theory arguably informing the colour-blind discourse, to support his pluralistic position. As with the 'colour-blind' position, this discourse is mobilised in support of a free-thinking attitude towards one's practice which is constructed as the most appropriate approach to one's work. However, an ideological dilemma occurs when the trainees concomitantly draw on the discourses located in the field of 'interculturalism'.

Within the field of 'interculturalism', equality, uniqueness and ineffability are lost to constructions which support generalised group understandings and commonalities. It has been argued that these constructions are associated with professionalism, competence and self-assurance. However, this discourse has also been identified as having unintended consequences, not least potentially reinforcing a white-centric view of the world. This view may perpetuate inequality and can obstruct the counsellor's understanding of the other. In addition difference may often be promoted in favour of other less salient therapeutic issues.

It is argued that the multifaceted epistemological roots of counselling psychology leave everything open to interpretation. With no clear discursive position being offered by training institutions, trainees appear to create their own theory of practice often combining ideologies which may or may not be compatible (depending on the reader's own epistemological position). The overall picture is complex. Discursive fields are occupied interchangeably and supported by ideologies which are seemingly ill-defined. I would argue that the result is a basis for practice which runs the risk of alternating between privileging and excluding difference, whilst espousing the integrity presented within the theory of pluralism.

2. Naïve and Expert Practitioners

2.1 Opening Mitigation for the Naïve Practitioner

The following five extracts come from five of the eight interviews with Sophie, David, Annabel, Tim and Justin. Each participant is responding to the opening question asking him or her about their experience of training and personal development in the area of racial difference when on the counselling psychology PsychD course.

It is argued that each opening statement acts as mitigation for any subsequent lack of racial awareness which may be exposed throughout the interview process. All of the participants in their own way draw on a discourse which positions their training organisation as inadequate in its provision of training in this area, and thereby responsible for any gaps in the trainees' knowledge or practice. This opening statement protects the trainees from any criticism which may be levelled at them directly.

Extract (11)

(S) Umm (.) let me think difference we've had (.) I suppose a sort of seminar (.) experience (.) talking about diversity generally but that includes homosexuality as well as ethnic differences (.) and it really was just a two hour (2.0) seminar where we'd (.) somebody we'd-we'd been asked to read a couple of chapters (.) went away and read them and then one of the group presented uh the chapters summarised it and critiqued it and that led onto discussion around the topic (.) other than that there really has been nothing touched on in the first year about racial differences and diversity

Sophie's mitigation relies on the brevity of the training she has received. She warrants her claim to mitigation by recounting the experience of a single "*sort of seminar experience*" where several aspects of diversity are considered in just two hours. The truthfulness of this claim is then reinforced with the assertion that, other than this, there "*really has been nothing*".

Extract (12)

(D) Yeah um (.) I think (.) I mean my (1.0) I would say that my experience so far has been (2.0.) um (2.5) I'd say that (1.0) that in some ways the kind of specific focus on (1.0) that has been (2.0) I wouldn't say absent but kind of it's always something which is talked around (.) around the edges (.) but it's not something which has been concentrated on (.) and from my perspective (.) as a main focus of any particular (.) either lecture or seminar or anything

David names a lack of focus on the area of racial difference as the failure of his institution. Whilst he wouldn't go as far as to say it has been avoided all together, he creates the image of

a subject to which his training organisation appears to give little attention, and so could be understood to be without a significant position in the training programme. The premise that there is a gap in the taught component of the course can be drawn on later to explain any subsequent identification of gaps in the trainee's understanding or practice.

Extract (13)

(A) Okay I guess in terms of training (sighs) we haven't had (.) well we've hardly had anything in terms of racial difference (.) We've had one lecture (.) umm I'm just trying to think what the name of the module was it was probably something like (1.0) professional skills (.) (*mm*) I think (.) and we had a visiting lecturer who was great and came in but it was rather than being (.) sort of (.) race it was sort of cross cultural counselling (.) and she did one (.) one (0.7) was it two and a half hour lecture on-two-two and a half hour lecture on (1.0) so umm (1.0) and that was sort of a forum for discussing the fact that people had different understandings of mental health (.) different understandings of sort of therapeutic relationships (.) privacy (.) what is appropriate to take outside of the family (.) that sort of thing (.) Umm (2.0) so I don't know if that's really the sort of thing that you mean when you asked that question (*Mhmm*) umm (1.0) but that's the only really formal training we've had that's come even close I would say

Annabel, much like Sophie, mitigates with the brevity of her training. She also warrants her claim with an account about one lecture where many subjects were covered, creating the impression of a teaching style which allows for nothing to be covered in any real depth – a taster session. Again, as with Sophie, her claim is underlined with a summary sentence which reinforces the lack of training received.

Extract (14)

(T) Umm to be honest (1.5) I can (.) very vaguely but it was umm (0.8) very err (.) small part of our training (.) (*mhmm*) umm (.) I guess I can excuse it in one way (.) because we work from a kind of existential phenomenological paradigm (.) which is to say that we're (.) the first part of our training is to bracket off our preconceptions and our prejudices when we approach any kind of (.) um phenomena or person (.) indeed umm having said that there was a section that was supposed to be given us in our second year (.) that they screwed up and we ended up with 5 weeks of social issues and 5 weeks of umm (1.0) something else I think cultural (.) cultural concerns umm (1.5) which were kind of inadequate (.) (*mhmm*) in my view

Tim, like Sophie and Annabel, begins by drawing on the same mitigating discourse which recounts the paucity of training he has received on the subject of working with racial difference. However, Tim then tempers his mitigation by mobilising a discourse which suggests that the philosophical underpinnings of the theoretical approach to counselling in which he is being trained, intrinsically prepare one for working with all aspects of difference and diversity.

Conversely, his talk then seems to backtrack on the virtues of his theoretical approach, and reverts to warranting his initial claim to a lack of specific training with an account of inadequate provision. It can be argued that Tim, unlike the other participants, moves from the discursive position of 'naïve practitioner' into the position of 'expert practitioner' and then back to that of 'naïve practitioner'. No justification is offered for any subsequent displays of ignorance if Tim remains aligned to the abstract principals of his theoretical model. Safety is only offered in a concrete absence of sufficient training, this absence supporting his position as a naïve trainee, prompting his discursive repositioning.

Extract (15)

(J) Umm (1.0) I don't know if there was actually that much put on the emphasis of racial difference (.) umm... it has come up (.) in (.) I suppose in a kind of a token way but not to kind of really really think about it

The final extract in this section is from Justin and is very similar to David's construction of a lack of focus. The use of the word '*token*' suggests that the subject of working with racial difference is simply gestured to – something which trainees are expected or required to appreciate but not taught in any depth. This depth deficiency is emphasised in Justin's closing statement where he suggests that they have not had time to "*really think about it*". I propose that the purpose of this rhetorical strategy of reinforcement is to leave one in no doubt that the trainees' needs have not been met, and is present in all the extracts in one form or another.

It is argued that these five extracts all construct the trainee as merely suffering from a lack of knowledge or awareness of the racially differing other which can be corrected with deeper understanding. This positioning appears to keep everything located within the individual and does not consider the implication of the wider socio-political context and the institutional nature of prejudice. Indeed, the perceived absence of sufficient training is not constructed as discriminatory, although, according to Lago (2006), this lack could be considered to be "unintentional institutional racism" (p. 29), since a failure to encourage trainees to examine their understanding of racial issues and racial prejudice can perpetuate racism. Lago notes "If one views things from a prejudiced perspective and has the power to act out those views, the outcome is going to be racist" (*ibid*, p. 29).

This issue is emphasised in the earlier literature review where papers relating to education, research and training are discussed (page 16). This section pays particular attention to the onus placed on White counsellors (trainee or otherwise) to explore notions of 'White

privilege' and 'colour-blindness' so they may increase their racial awareness and reduce their potential for racial prejudice, both personally and professionally.

However, it is also noted in the review that researchers such as Wetherell and Potter (1992) and more recently Wetherell (2012) support Lago's ideas believing that the location of racism within the individual rather than as embedded in societal frameworks is reductive, discursively creating a model of racism which leaves the narrow-minded individual as the perpetrator of racism.

This noted, in the present study, it is suggested that the lack of acknowledgement of wider issues may also act as a protective factor for the trainee. The trainee maintains the possibility of eliminating their prejudice potential if it is the lone product of the individual. However, if this prejudice is constructed as endemic in wider society, as well as more locally in their own training institution, the complexity attributed to the elimination of prejudice makes the challenge far greater, and the level of personal conflict arguably deeper. I propose that the active process of keeping prejudice located in the individual may act as a defensive strategy.

In addition to these findings I have identified all of these extracts as part of the discursive field of 'interculturalism', supporting the idea that there are significant issues to be considered when working with racially diverse clients. It is argued that this discursive field not only is inhabited in defence of the trainee's naivety, but can also be seen to offer the promise of security in what is ultimately a profession filled with uncertainty.

Furthermore, it is argued that the act of mitigation which implies that training deficiencies are responsible for any subsequent talk which lacks racial awareness, or contains racially prejudicial significations, suggests that awareness can be taught and prejudice trained out. This is encapsulated in the 'expert practitioner' discourse.

2.2 Expert Practitioner

In the following two extracts both trainees are discussing how helpful it would be to have guidance, particularly written guidance, from experienced professionals based on their own work with people deemed to be culturally different.

Extract (2)

(D)...for example when we had kind of two (.) sessions the group that I'm in at the moment on um (.) on psychosis and we looked at kind of cultural um (1.0) approaches and sort of understandings of that and that was that was very helpful I think um (1.5) so I mean in terms of developing that um (.) yeah maybe there could be a bit more I think um (.) and yeah I think I think I think there could be an and may I mean maybe there could be more (1.5) in terms of what's happening in the UK...every different kind of environment has its own cultural makeup so-so-I-so I guess to kind of to specifically (.) think about those kind of issues and (.) you know to read case studies or kind of reports written by people who've (.) worked in (.) I dunno like worked in south London or north London or Birmingham kind of with different (.) populations with different cultural aspects I think that probably would be a helpful thing yeah

(R) Mmhmm

(D) so maybe that could be bumped up a bit

An interpretation of this extract presents the position of 'expert practitioner' within the discursive field of 'interculturalism', locating specialist professionals who do the work of intercultural therapy, and are thereby able to inform the rest of us how such therapy should be undertaken. This ideology is well represented in the supporting literature which suggests that White trainees have an explicit educative path to follow if they are to learn to work with racial or cultural difference (Abreu, 2001; Ryde, 2009; Tuckwell, 2002; Utsey et al 2005).

David constructs areas of the UK as multicultural, and within that construction identifies individuals who have worked within multicultural areas with "*different cultural aspects*" as having the type of experience that could be documented for and drawn on by trainees. The talk identifies the knowledgeable 'expert practitioner' providing a counter to the trainee's position as 'naïve practitioner'. However, the present analysis proposes that both positions simultaneously construct the ignorant individual as responsible for racial prejudice, so that any elimination of such prejudice is only possible via self-enlightenment.

Extract (5)

(J) I think some people who are more London based take it a bit for granted (.) (*Mmmm*) umm (.) and I think there's the danger in that if we do take it for granted then (.) we can become "oh it's fine I don't see colour" which is (.) (*Mmmm*) which is crap (*yeah yeah*)

(R) So then you went off and read (.) (*yeah*) and you found the book back to basics kind of thing?

(J) It really was it was kind of the umm (.) it kind of did give some nice examples of (.) I suppose differences in culture and (.) and I suppose actually maybe I wanted to know more about the culture (.) to be lazy so then I could get it from the one place rather than they would encourage you to go off and learn about the cultures'...it provided a nice framework if you have never thought about those things (.) but I kind of maybe wanted to go to the actual level (.) but nowhere really did it (.) I suppose maybe this is also me wanting to kind of have a real manual of how to handle it in a session or (.) and how it would come up

Similarly to David, Justin constructs the position of 'expert practitioner' as someone who has created a knowledge base from their cross-racial professional practice which could be turned into "*a real manual*". Justin's talk presents the expert as having specialised knowledge which would offer guidance on introducing issues of racial difference within the therapeutic encounter. Such constructions emphasise Justin's naïve position and simultaneously position him as the White trainee who may perpetuate racial prejudice if not given appropriate guidance.

2.3 Good to be Naïve

The five opening mitigating extracts have all been read to construct the trainees' poor guidance and subsequent naïve positioning as negative, this being supported in the previous two extracts by the positioning of experts whose experience enables them to teach others how to work cross-racially. Conversely, the following three extracts all extol the virtues of taking a naïve position. In the first extract the researcher is asking Sophie if she took much away from her seminar experience:

Extract (16)

(R) When you had the seminar did it (.) provoke any of your own thinking did you come away (.) sort of uh wu with an aspect to your thoughts that you might not of gone into the seminar with?

(S) Mmmmm I think what I came away with was the concept of having to be culturally naïve (.) when it came to (.) to different (.) uh races and different backgrounds and that (.) whilst I was in quite a privileged position (.) that can sometimes be quite hard (.)

within a therapeutic capacity because you're trying to help (.) or ss help support somebody with their difficulties who just may not have the same resources you have (mm)...

...it's certainly something that's come up in my own work as well with my placement cos there's quite a few different races and there are some questions that I'll ask which I know (.) perhaps sound naïve either because the persons laughed when I've asked or um (.) you know they they've seemed quite surprised that I don't know (.) but I'd rather sort of adopt that position where (0.6) I'm quite transparent about the fact that I don't take for granted (.) that I know where they're coming from or what their meaning and value system is (.) so it's about being quite transparent

Sophie constructs a style of practice which eschews any use of preformed knowledge or generalised understanding. The term "*culturally naïve*" is mobilised to portray a complete absence of any appreciation of what life might be like for a racially different client. Ironically, Sophie's subsequent positioning of herself as privileged implicitly suggests that clients who are racially or culturally different to herself will not have come from such a position of privilege, an assumption that is arguably discriminatory.

Sophie warrants her claim to naivety by recounting experiences of taking a naïve position. She draws on the metaphor of transparency, thereby creating the impression of an empty self waiting to be filled with knowledge of the other. Alternatively, one could read her claims to transparency as constructing herself as free of motive. British society is in an age of transparency, where openness is revered both politically and professionally. This notion of transparency is also common to the world of science where research is seen as replicable in support of the common quest for 'truth'. Sophie's construction positions the client as the only party that can shed light on their 'truth' within the encounter of dyadic therapy.

However one chooses to interpret Sophie's words the impression that is created is of a professional with integrity trying her best to serve the interests of her client. However, this positioning of the client as expert in their particular world and holder of power serves to obscure any pre-existing power relations which may be present in the socio-political frameworks which are relevant to the context of Sophie and her clients.

In the following extract Tim is explaining the process of learning from experience, in the absence of what he would have considered to be adequate training.

Extract (17)

(T) ...I think that curiosity is the best (.) the best tool (.) in a situation like that is to be very kind of open and ask (.) and not assume that you should know (.) because I think

there's something on the part of us as therapists that (.) and perhaps it's implicit on how the client (.) er views us as well that we should know these things (.) (mm) because we are professionals we're experts we're (.) (mhmm) you know (.) that even to assume that somebody's experience within a culture or the cultural influences are the same from person to person (.) because they are obviously gonna have their own shade and their own colour (.) (mm) and their own kind of interpretation via that person

As with Sophie, Tim constructs the need for a naïve questioning stance, remaining open to understanding the client on the latter's own terms. Again the client is positioned as being the expert as regards themselves, thereby rendering racial or cultural group knowledge and stereotypical assumptions redundant. In contrast to Sophie, Tim does acknowledge the role of the therapist as expert, and in so doing, touches on the need for security in one's professional capabilities, which he expresses in the discourse of mitigation for the naïve practitioner. In addition, Tim recognises his client's positioning of him as an expert and the expectations which are associated with such a position.

However, despite the acknowledgement of a pre-existing power dynamic, the potential implications of this are not addressed. Tim continues to construct an image of himself as approaching the therapeutic encounter as a 'tabula rasa'. This approach is conveyed as the most respectful way forward.

The final extract in this section is taken from one of the two focus groups. The participants have been discussing the existence of 'race' as a meaningful category and what impact the use of such constructions may have on different individuals, both White and Black. Penny remarks:

Extract (18)

(P) It's very idiosyncratic because (.) you might have a Black individual who might say I don't want to be thought of as belonging to a particular race I'm British (.) and you'll have another individual who says I'm Black and I'm proud (.) ((A) Yeah, ((D) Yeah) you know so really for me (.) I mean you know maybe some of my context makes a difference I don't know (.) but for me (.) you know you find out from the individual how they think of themselves (0.8) ((A) mm mm) ((D) yeah yeah) and if they want to think of themselves very strongly identified with a certain group or religion ((A) mm) or whatever fine cool ((A) mm mm) you know it's like ok he's a man she is a woman but if somebody says to me "well actually I am transgender" oh okay that's okay you know ((A) yeah) ((D) yeah) that's who you are

What appears to be at stake in these extracts is the construction of an openness to the total potential of the other uninhibited by preconceptions. Such openness is portrayed as so convincing that it can eliminate preconceived assumptions or power differentials.

All such constructions seem to inhabit the discursive field of 'pluralism' in that they acknowledge that differences are present on many levels, but propose that these differences cannot be explained via group knowledge. However, the action inherent in taking such an approach can be read as almost colour-blind in its effect. Essentially racial or cultural difference is obliterated in favour of individual differences. This supports the findings noted earlier in the data analysis, where both the discursive fields of 'colour-blindness' and that of 'pluralism' have been identified as producing discourses which achieve similar discursive functions.

Another interpretation of the 'good to be naïve position' and the field of 'pluralism' which it inhabits is that it can justify ignorance. According to Gordon (1996) intercultural therapy was developed as a response to the "failure of mainstream psychotherapy" (p. 196) to acknowledge racism, discrimination and prejudice common in the lives of minority groups. It examines the practice of therapy "from the standpoint of those who are not from the white majority" and encourages all therapists to engage with the practice of critical self-reflection in an area which might ordinarily be avoided or overlooked (*ibid*, p. 195).

My own interpretation of the trainees' naïve questioning stance as an essential aspect of an orthodox approach to pluralistic practice – implicitly constructed as the best method of practice, may in fact be offensive to clients who would prefer to be met with a broad sense of compassionate understanding. Lago (2006) argues that "the counsellor requires an understanding of the political processes in society that continue to perpetuate racist and discriminatory processes...at least to avoid recreating them within his or her therapeutic practice" (p. 21). This same requirement may also be extended to the social, political or religious processes which are common in other 'cultures' or countries. In support of this, a binocular view, where discourses from the fields of both 'interculturalism' and 'pluralism' are drawn on, construct the 'naïve yet informed' position.

2.4 Naïve Yet Informed

Throughout the set of extracts the trainees explain how, in the absence of any significant training or understanding of the racially differing other, they try to give themselves a cushion of understanding on which they can draw or discard at will.

The following extract is taken from the interview with Sophie. In contrast to the naïve position she constructs in extract (16), she now presents an alternative approach that she takes when working with clients who are racially different to herself:

Extract (19)

(S) I think we're expected to (1.0) if somebody comes to us from a different culture to go and find out about it as much as we can (.) so you know do Google searches and Wikipedia and stuff which whilst that's never gonna be comprehensive it might give us more of an idea...

...um (.) there's a couple of ladies I can think of (.) one from Iraq and one from Iran (.) umm (.) both of them (0.8) have been Muslim but they had they have adopted the western style of dress so perhaps wouldn't notice it on the off (.) umm (1.8) my initial (.) response was one of sort of anxiety and a bit of (.) panic about oh crap how am I going to (.) to approach this (.) um and it then was doing the Google search just to sort of make sure I understood where the country was (.) um what its main religion was whereabouts it was in relation to other countries how the relations were between the different countries

Initially Sophie describes a process of searching for background knowledge to provide her client with context before she meets them. Her talk suggests that this is something that she has learned to do via her training and professional development "*I think we're expected to*", such a statement acts as a 'stake inoculation' (Fozdar, 2008). Sophie has an interest in maintaining an image of herself as always working towards her clients' best interests. The term "*I think*" distances her from being identified as engaging in practices which are unsupported within the field of counselling psychology. This construction of uncertainty towards her actions allows for future revision of her practice and consolidates her position as a naïve trainee.

Discursive psychologists such as Potter (1996) consider 'stake inoculation' to be the way one prevents the undermining of personal accounts, inoculation being used as in the medical preventative sense. Lee and Roth (2004), drawing on Potter (1996), state; "these attributions of blame and responsibility in stake provide legitimation for courses of action for people" (p. 6). In Sophie's case, she is legitimising the use of what could be considered as background knowledge to help her gain greater insight into the possible cultural context in which a client may be embedded.

Sophie then continues to narrate a situation when she has used such an approach to collect information. In this extract she constructs the process of information collection as appeasing the anxieties which emerge when she is about to work with someone who is racially different

to herself. The need to be 'naïve yet informed' now takes a different turn. Rather than cultural conversancy being a part of professional preparation for inter-racial practice, compiling cultural knowledge of the racially different other serves to alleviate the trainee's fears.

The next extract is taken from the interview with Tim. Tim has been describing working with a homosexual male whose 'culture' forbids such sexual orientation and the complexities of being a gay man in such circumstances. Following his claim to curiosity noted in extract (17), I ask if this inquisitiveness is the only method of information gathering:

Extract (20)

(R) Okay so this was all stuff that you learnt from him (.) (*mm*) as your client?

(T) Yeah and-and from doing a little bit of research outside of it (.) I had to do-I had to do a little bit of um (.) thinking on my feet

Although Tim does not explicitly divulge his sources, he nonetheless constructs the need to draw on additional information to provide support to the therapeutic endeavour. His use of the construction "*thinking on my feet*", as in Sophie's case, creates the image of someone who is under pressure to understand the otherness confronting them and anxiously draws on outside sources for knowledge that will advance his understanding.

Both Tim and Sophie appear to be invested in protecting an image of themselves as competent practitioners. Whilst on the one hand acknowledging their naivety, the active process of anxiety reduction by gaining cultural awareness of their client also serves to give the appearance of competency in the eyes of their client.

In the following extract, Annabel is recounting how her understanding and subsequent use of an expert theorist's model deepened her work with a Black South African client with whom she had been working:

Extract (21)

(A) I worked with a young um South African woman (.) umm young (0.6) Black South African woman who has been over here for umm (1.0) well since she was early teens (.) and we were talking about umm (.) do you know Padesky's prejudice model within CBT? Of um sort of negative beliefs about the self and how they are maintained and you kind of use this idea of how prejudice is maintained (.) and I thought I really wanted to work with her-I really wanted work (.) to talk about this model with her-this prejudice model but I did have a kind of gosh saying to her (.) to someone who in her childhood lived (.) through apartheid (laughs) (1.0) am I really going to be able to do this in a way that isn't completely trite (.) and that is kind of meaningful to her...

...and I had been hugely nervous about that because I really didn't want to be seen to be talking about this in a disrespectful way (1.0) yeah you know it's (.) umm (0.6) but it worked (.) and it worked incredibly (.) well I think and it's something that when we kind of we're recapping (.) it was something she said that had really struck her (.) (*mm*) but a (.) but scary going in

Annabel recounts an alternative version of using pre-existing knowledge within her inter-racial work. Again the narrative of the novice with its associated anxieties is mobilised, but this time constructed to give shape to the uncertainty she is conveying around using a prejudice model in a “*meaningful*” way. As with Tim and Sophie, what appears to be at stake here is the construction that Annabel is well intentioned in applying the ethical concepts of beneficence and non-maleficence driving her course of action. However, for all the trainees this acquisition of knowledge seems discursively linked to the need to appear competent in the eyes of one's clients.

Frequently, throughout the extracts within the present analysis, constructions of competency can be linked with the discursive field of ‘interculturalism’. This is in contrast to the constructions of naivety and curiosity which it is argued inhabit the field of ‘pluralism’. This suggests that the trainees draw on these differing discourses, and thereby inhabit these differing discursive fields when alternative representations of themselves and their practice are at stake.

The following extract comes from the focus group discussion and examines how the aforementioned ‘expert’ and ‘naïve’ discursive positions are called upon to co-construct the ‘naïve yet informed’ position:

Extract (22)

(P) Well the-the-the client who has been tortured I suspect (.) that umm one of the reasons filed-that one of the reasons he's been tortured is that he is a different (.) um sect of a major religion (*mhmm*) to the governing (.) (*mhmm*) people in his country (.) you know so um (.) you know I have no doubt that he has plenty to say about that sector (*mm*) of the religion (0.6) um and you know that's fine but (.) you know at the same time I don't know that yet (*no no*) so you know I'm gonna just let him tell me (.) (*mm*)(*yeah yeah*) what he feels is important (.) (*yeah*) um but (.) you know (.) at the same time as you say assuming though that somebody has been the victim of prejudice or racism (.) you know probably isn't helpful at all

(A) Well you're turning someone into a victim if you do that

(P) yeah (.) and just like assuming they haven't been, (*yes*) (*yeah*) or assuming they have been (*yeah*) just because they are Black (.) (*yeah*) (*yeah*) (*mm*) umm you know kind of is like that lecturer who said “don't think all Black people voted for Obama”

(A) Yeah (*yeah*) yeah

(S) So again it's about (.) not coming in-it's coming in without assumptions (.) regardless of the colour or (*yeah*) ethnic or culture or age of the person

(D) But but

(A)But but

(D) But maybe have (.) having (0.7) educated yourself (*yeah*) in some way (.) (*with something*) if there is a possibility that (.) something exists which is kind of culturally different to you (.) (*mm, I*) so it's giving yourself the opportunity (.) to know more if that does exist

This section of focus group data begins with Penny continuing an earlier narrative regarding a potential new client about whom she has read an assessment, her discourse moving uneasily from one discursive position to another. Initially she constructs herself as an 'expert practitioner' claiming that she has "*no doubt*" of the kind of material her client will present. Interestingly, this version of the 'expert practitioner' discourse constructs her as expert in relation to a client whom she has yet to meet. However, this position is then swiftly aborted as her talk acknowledges that she doesn't know the reasons behind her client's experience of torture.

The unethical implications of assuming clients have been victims of racial prejudice are left behind as Penny then mobilises the 'good to be naïve' discourse. Paradoxically, assumptions are made and then recanted in the next breath. This about turn can be read as discursively 'bolting the stable door after the horse has bolted'. What appears to be at stake, as in the previous extracts, is an image of Penny as a competent practitioner, ironically from both subject positions. Initially, Penny infers a good level of competence by having equipped herself with background knowledge. However, this is swiftly followed with the construction of a more passive approach to practice as the appropriate way forward.

Sophie continues to occupy a naïve position, but this is mediated by David and Annabel who move into the 'naïve yet informed' position. Assumptions are constructed as bad, whilst researching for knowledge of cultural differences is sanctioned. David's phrase, "*having educated yourself*", suggests enlightenment is progressive, paralleling the discourse which suggests that ignorance is the cause of racial prejudice. As has been argued elsewhere in this analysis, such a psycho-social approach to racism avoids any investigation of political and institutional practices which may produce or maintain racial prejudice.

When analysing the data, I note an often distinct discursive division between a seemingly ethical, value free, openness to the other, and a not so ethical, but professional need for competency. In the 'naïve but informed' position, the trainees strive to maintain a binocular view, nonetheless, a discursive tension is often evident.

The final extracts return to the trainees' naivety; however, this section provides an investigation of the naivety associated with being White in a racialised context.

2.5 Naively White British

The first extract in this section is taken from the interview with Sophie. She is describing her experience of working with a client who was racially different to herself:

Extract (23)

(S) ...one question I remember asking was she-she'd commented she's got two young daughters and she wanted them to (.) to grow up and (.) remember their country of origin and (.) you know (.) be two young women from that country rather than from England (.) and when I asked her what-why that was significant to her (0.6) she did sort of laugh and look at the translator and there was a moment where the two of them exchanged this sort of (.) "oh crikey" sort of response "I can't believe she's asking this question"

In this extract Sophie constructs herself as taking a naïve position in relation to understanding her client's personal motivations. Her question to her client, which arguably inhabits the discursive field of 'pluralism', may be interpreted as an attempt to accord with Wilfred Bion's suggestion that one comes to the therapeutic encounter free of memory, desire or understanding (Symington & Symington, 1996), such an approach being constructed as necessary for pluralistic practice according to the extract from House (2003) previously quoted in this study (page 62).

However, as has already been related to Sophie's naïve stance during this study, she is left positioned as inept when her client's response to her naïve enquiries located her as such. According to Sampson (1993, reprint, 2008), the postmodern era has created the space for previously silenced minorities to have a voice, this emerging voice providing hitherto neglected authority to minorities as people (p.14).

Sampson (*ibid*) additionally drawing on the ideas of American writers such as Ralph Ellison (1952) and Toni Morrison (1992), notes how, prior to the advent of postmodern thought, the African-American only existed to service "the dominant white group's own identity", continuing, "the African-American, whose very qualities, created by the conditions

of slavery, servitude and racism...permits the dominant white groups to know who they are as free and autonomous agents acting with power in their world" (p. 11).

Contemporary theory would suggest that Sophie's client would inhabit this new discursive field, constructing an identity for herself. As was suggested as part of the previous literature review, the recognition of the multifaceted nature of human beings should theoretically increase the discursive repertoires available, thus undermining a 'them and us' position. In spite of the apparent theoretical shift in the construction of racial identity, Sophie's client may be interpreted as declining to have her voice heard.

Unfortunately, in this instance, the 'them and us' divide is still present. For Sophie, being positioned as ignorant repeatedly pushes her out of the discursive field of 'pluralism' back into the field of 'interculturalism' in order to defend the position of being 'naively White British'.

Extract (24)

(A) I think there's also an element of it's so loaded (.) it's so loaded and the term race is so hugely loaded (.) and (3.0) (sighs) well my-so my background is in social anthropology and I could (.) or I could have in my day when I was doing my undergrad you know talked for hours on race as a completely meaningless (.) term (1.8) but at the same time it obviously is not meaningless because it has such (.) huge meaning attached to it (.) you know and we are sort of looking at it in terms of a biological sense and it means nothing (.) but then in a political sense and how it's used it's (.) it's so loaded (.) (yeah) so that-it's kind of become then a scary word because you don't know how people are gonna (0.7) interpret what you (.) whether people are gonna accept what you mean by it

Annabel constructs a theoretical dilemma between a social scientific discourse which rejects 'race' as a category and a social psychological discourse which acknowledges 'race' as a social construct attributed with meaning. Caught between the two, she is positioned as inhibited and frightened to engage with the subject of 'race'. She repeatedly uses the metaphor "*loaded*", constructing the image of someone who is waiting to be shot down for their ignorant misuse or misinterpretation of the word 'race'. This fear around issues relating to 'race' and racism is fundamental to the 'naively White British' position.

Extract (25)

(R) Yeah I think what you are saying is (.) is for us it's more of a sensitive issue?

(L) Yeah that's it it seems sensitive it almost seems like I was quite afraid I was in a room (.) and I think I was probably (.) there were probably a couple of (.) White people

in there but umm (.) a lot of umm (.) kind of Asian women Asian men (.) Black men (.) umm (.) and there was one particular guy who was a (.) a psychiatrist I think (.) and umm he was Black and a Male and a Doctor and he was very vocal about kind of (.) racial prejudice and racism and the fact that his um (.) he gave an example of his cousin who had not been kind of promoted at work (.) um he said because of his race and you almost feel (1.0) I sort of (.) I couldn't say anything-I almost felt like kind of quite paralysed like I daren't say anything unless it's you know (.) for fear of it not being PC or fear of it not being kind of (.) for fear of being seen as racist (*mhmm*) kind of thing (.) it's almost as if actually being White you are racist whereas if you're Black you could say something (.) (*okay*) and wouldn't be seen to be racist

In this extract, the trainee constructs herself as a voiceless minority in a multiracial setting; she is positioned as racist by default of being White. The trainee constructs a pervasive sense of uncertainty with no safe position from which to speak lest she be identified as racist. The 'naively White British' discourse is inhibiting and sits in the problem rather than the solution. The racism is located within Lucy and the organisation discursively linked to racist practices is not interrogated. Alternatively, if Lucy were able to construct an understanding of how institutional frameworks can collude with racial discrimination, she could more confidently take a supportive position, and more comfortably engage in the discussion.

For writers such as Tuckwell (2006), the 'naively White British' position is part of the early stages of developing White awareness. White people who are not familiar with thinking of themselves as a 'race' and with acknowledging the privilege associated with being White struggle to find their place in a racialised context. Tuckwell believes that once whiteness is recognised individuals can move towards understanding socio-political complexities which maintain racial prejudice and accordingly re-discover their voice.

Alternatively Sampson (1993, reprint, 2008, pp. 14-15) suggests that as minorities find their power of speech and dialogue begins, the White majorities so used to hearing their own dominant monologue will be unaccustomed to the novel voice of the other. This may be the case as far as Lucy is concerned, since she is positioned like a metaphorical 'rabbit caught in the headlights' as the unfamiliar talk of the oppressed enters her discursive environment.

The three extracts highlight the discursive struggle the trainees find themselves in when discussing racial or cultural issues, the fear of being seen as racist holding them back and arguably keeping them tethered to the discursive field of 'interculturalism'.

2.6 Summary

The above analysis has explored alternative constructions of 'naïve' and 'expert' practitioners. Initially, at 2.1, statements which have been read as mitigating naivety appear to suggest that a lack of some understanding of working with racial difference is negative and that adequate training can counteract this. This is reinforced in 2.2 via the interpretation of the successive extracts which construct the 'expert practitioner' who has specialist knowledge gained via personal experience of working cross-racially which can be manualised and utilised to train others.

I have argued that both of these discursive positions locate prejudice in the individual and ignore the influence of wider socio-political structures. From both subject positions training organisations avoid being challenged for their apparent neglect of wider 'racial' and 'cultural' issues, including how racial prejudice may be sustained or challenged by political and institutional rhetoric, as well as the impact of their own implicit and explicit policies. Moreover, such discourses passively position those from BME populations as without the power to influence the reduction or elimination of racism.

The extracts discussed in section 2.3 perform an about turn and offer constructions which claim that it is 'good to be naïve', and in support of a pluralistic stance, the trainees' endeavour to free themselves of any need for specific training or understanding of the racially different other. Here the trainees' integrity appears to be linked with coming to the therapeutic encounter value free, such an approach being constructed as having the capability to reduce power differentials within the counselling dyad. However, a further interpretation of the naïve position is that it justifies ignorance, and may well obscure power differentials which exist as part of a pre-existing set of racial/cultural assumptions.

At 2.4, the position of 'naïve yet informed' practitioner is constructed. This position appears to be the result of a binocular view, where discourses found in both the discursive fields of 'pluralism' and 'interculturalism' are drawn on to construct a style of practice which does not reject all prior knowledge of the other. Here, whilst openness to the other is still constructed as the more favourable approach, the additional utilisation of common understanding positions the trainee as a more capable practitioner than one taking a purely naïve stance.

All of the trainees seem to be invested in protecting an image of themselves as competent practitioners, and construct the need for generalised knowledge in support of such an image. However, this position must be contrasted with the earlier claim within the 'good to be naïve' discourse, which suggests that competence exists when assumptions are abandoned.

Finally at 2.5, the 'naively White British' position is created, where trainees construct their struggle to work cross-racially without causing offence. Their talk conveys a potential for ignorance or a lack of understanding as a fearful prospect, such fear being constructed as extremely inhibiting. The association with ignorance suggests that this would be countered by further training, self awareness and critical self appraisal, once again suggesting that racial prejudice is located in the individual.

Once again, the present analysis has identified the complexity of constructions which trainees draw on when discussing their training and work with racial difference. Alternative discursive positions are occupied when trainees' accounts represent themselves and their practice in varying ways. However, of additional significance is the link between these representations and the particular fields of 'interculturalism' and 'pluralism'.

Claims in defence of naivety are associated with the sentiments of pluralistic practice where difference is the starting point of all therapeutic encounters. This naivety is contrasted with the talk of the all-knowing 'expert practitioner'. The expert has a knowledge based on experience and understanding which helps to contain trainees' anxiety and fears via the rhetoric of the discursive field of 'interculturalism'. Somewhere within the complexity of the discursive fields of 'interculturalism' and 'pluralism' the trainees' continue to discursively carve out a style of practice which can sit well with both them and their clients.

3. Victims of Discourse

3.1 The Socially Constructed Position

In the following extract the participant referred to as Freddie is recounting the manner in which his training organisation has addressed working with difference:

Extract (26)

(F) So in that sense it was the way (.) the way the whole course was taught was it was around (0.6) questioning (.) your own stance really (1.0) (*so*) I mean we all think we're liberal don't we especially going into sort of counselling psychology (.) We're not-we don't have any of these things but actually (.) it's more like to question yourself really (.) (*mm*) you know you can't be that (.) you know you've been brought up in a society where (0.5) these things perhaps (.) you've not even knowing it you've picked up a lot of these things in the discourses that are out there

Freddie's talk generalises his claim that counselling psychologists imagine themselves to have the open-minded and free-thinking qualities commonly associated with a liberal perspective. However, he then suggests that '*you can't be that*' liberal as you have been raised in a society full of intolerance which is likely to of had an undesirable influence on the individual.

The talk makes claim to the universality of deeply hidden prejudicial beliefs in counselling psychology trainees, because prejudice is '*in the discourses that are out there*'. This distances the speaker from any racist views or opinions he may express, and the claim to commonality provides a further cushion of support – it's not just me, it affects everybody.

Extract (27)

(L) I think working with (.) the boy whose both of his parents were Black (.) at times (1.0.) I did wonder if there was a difference-notice a difference I did (3.0) he didn't have (.) the father in his life (.) was very umm (0.5) what's the word very absent (.) and I found myself sometimes (0.8.) making judgements on that thinking (.) making judgements (.) due to stereotypes that are out there like "Black boys' fathers who aren't around" (*mhmm*) kind of thing you know I think that is quite a strong kind of script that you know (.) that you don't want to kind of fall into (.) kind of (.) believing but (.) it became (.) I don't know it was something that I was experiencing working with this young boy as well (.) and I think also from (1.0) you know (.) it's hard not to kind of (.) not to be brought into the kind of-kind of quite dominant discourse that's out there as well

In this extract, the trainee distances herself from her own judgmental behaviour by locating prejudice as outside herself. The use of the phrases '*stereotypes that are out there*' and '*a*

strong kind of script' suggests the power of rhetoric present in the environment which reproduces racism and unequal power relations. However, as with the previous extract, the suggestion is that one is infected with the prejudicial talk found in one's environment in spite of having liberal principles.

In the final extract, illustrating this discursive position, the trainee also uses reference to available discourses to mitigate their potentially narrow understanding of the racially differing other:

Extract (28)

(D) But (.) it is quite interesting how (0.6) these classifications are quite (.) well black and white for want of a better way of describing and I'm sort of reminded of how (.) in the Chinese language for example there is (.) there is essentially one word for foreigner (.) ((S mm)) that acknowledges Chinese and other essentially (.) so it's-it's interesting that we (.) think about things in terms of black and white because it's not that far away really

This trainee draws on the presence of binary oppositions in languages other than English. He suggests that China, the largest country in Asia with almost 20% of the world's population (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2012) and representing attitudes outside of the western world, have a simple linguistic self/other contrast. This contrast distinguishes Chinese people as the norm all others deviate from. It is argued that one interpretation of this discourse is that it normalises the position of superiority implied by the host race and does nothing to challenge the discrimination which may be perpetuated by such discursive positioning.

The rhetorical strategy in the three previous extracts seems to be acknowledging that one is prejudiced, but through no fault of one's own. The participants describe prejudice as part of our environment suggesting that we absorb it unconsciously. This reactive process mitigates the presence of one's stereotypical assumptions. In this way, the extracts presented can be read as justifying racism and racial prejudice, and fail to challenge the implications of this.

The turn of the postmodern has introduced the deconstruction of all and a de-centring of intention from the individual. This academically accepted ideology informs psychology teachings inside and outside of the UK. As informed counselling psychology trainees, 'the socially constructed position' can be read as a 'rhetorical commonplace' within counselling psychology.

Dickerson (2012) notes that “Billig (1996) develops the notion of commonplaces to encompass both frequently used rhetoric and common-sense folk wisdom shared by both speaker and audience” (p. 256). The idea of commonplaces was found by Billig in “ancient rhetorical textbooks” which featured common or recurrent “argumentative points – the sorts of assertions that could be weaved into a wide range of different arguments”. Examples of such are “platitudes, clichés and truisms” (*ibid*). As such, commonplaces lend themselves to a variety of arguments frequently supporting contrary positions and are often open to conflicting interpretation. “Typically these common-places are not employed untendentiously, but are used to justify the self against actual, or potential, criticisms of others” (Billig, 2012, p. 145).

A commonsense understanding that one is shaped by discourses rather than being the shaper of them is produced within the literature which addresses contemporary issues in psychology (Burr, 1995, Gergen, 2009). Counselling psychology trainees draw on this commonsense appreciation of social construction when accounting for prejudicial significations which may be present within their own talk, thinking or practice representations. However, the self can be constructed in an endless variety of ways, and this commonplace, suggesting we are shaped by discourses, could be drawn on to support any kind of self-representation.

The previous three extracts identify a passive process which accounts for any racial prejudice which appears in the trainees’ talk. In the following extracts, two trainees offer further interpretations of how racially prejudiced stereotypical assumptions find their way into everyday conversation.

3.2 The Mediated Position

In the following extract from the focus group data, Justin is recounting his experience of racial stereotypes in the media:

Extract (29)

(J) Even just watching TV you kind of see the stereotypes ((L) mm) being grilled out and in our house we always laugh at them or point ((L) mm mm) them out (.) and actually yeah to think of (.) that must be having some kind of—that must be having some effect of (.) or moulding of the discourse

Although Justin’s talk acknowledges the presence of racial stereotypes on TV, the account provided implies that in Justin’s home these are critically examined. The talk suggests that

Justin is positioned as somewhat ironic to the assumptions contained in the stereotypical representations of other racial groups, and these clichéd notions are not left to pass unnoticed.

This appears to be contrary to 'the socially constructed position', as it suggests that a process of discernment can occur with what one does and does not take on as a representation of other groups. In spite of this, the sentence concludes with a more fatalistic narrative where the power of stereotypes as persuasive constructions of others is assumed.

It is argued that initially Justin's talk represents him as open-minded and unaffected by mediating factors such as racial stereotypes on TV. Yet it is acknowledged that the power of these stereotypes and their effect on others within society cannot be discounted. This implicit contrast positions Justin as enlightened against the unenlightened mass of society who fail to interrogate the assumptions made about racial groups on TV. In section 3.3, a further four extracts address this contrasted position in more depth.

In the second extract in this section, Lucy is also discussing the influence of the media on one's assumptions:

Extract (30)

(L) I guess my (1.5) my concern (.) was that (.) afterwards (.) he wouldn't get the therapeutic support that he needed and he would just become (.) because (.) of the stereotypes that are around kind of "young Black boys who don't have you know a father figure or a father role" (.) that he just became (.) another (.) young Black boy who kind of got into trouble (.) who you know who we read about in the newspapers because that's how the media portray (.) (*yeah*) boys (*yeah*) and that's how I felt when I left him

A similar path is followed as in 'the socially constructed position' by identifying "*stereotypes that are around*", thereby constructing the environmental nature of prejudice. However, as with the previous extract, the role of the media in the perpetuation of stereotypical assumptions is mobilised and is used to account for the presence of such constructions in general discourse.

What distinguishes these particular extracts is their construction of the media as a factor in the perpetuation of racial prejudice. The individual, initially free from prejudice, and the racial stereotype, are brought together by the mediating factor, which in this case is television or newspaper. Such thinking is well represented in the behavioural sciences (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Frazier, Tix & Barron, 2004) where studies examine the role of the mediating variable in the transmission of behaviours.

In van Dijk's earlier studies of everyday discourse (1984, 1987) and the discursive reproduction of racism, it was frequently noted that those interviewed often referred "to the media when expressing or defending ethnic opinions" (van Dijk, 1989, p. 201). Although this research is now quite dated, its findings are still relevant. van Dijk argued that minority groups were mostly working class and were rarely represented in institutions such as the government, local councils or the police.

According to Richard Cracknell (2012) of the House of Commons Social and General Statistics section, "Ethnic minorities make up over 10% of the population in England and Wales but are generally under-represented in politics and government. Following the 2010 General Election there were 27 black and minority ethnic MPs, 12 more than before the election, but less than 5% of all MPs". Although a similar figure of ethnic minorities make up the police forces of England and Wales (4.8%), this does improve when focused on areas associated with greater diversity: Metropolitan Police (9.6%), West Midlands (8.2%) and Leistershire (6.7%) (*ibid*).

van Dijk's still very relevant point is that the White majority has the largest voice and tends to dominate the rhetoric that emanates from governing institutions. He argues that "controlled ignorance about outgroups, combined with self-interest, favours the development of stereotypes and prejudices" (van Dijk, 1989, p. 204). Unfortunately these prejudices and stereotypes are often perpetuated in political and social reports by the media, especially within newspapers and on TV, a phenomenon van Dijk named 'mediating racism' (*Ibid*, p.199).

According to Owen Jones (2012, p. xviii), this still occurs within the UK today. Jones's account of his experience of appearing on the BBC's *Newsnight* programme, along with Tudor historian David Starkey, describes how Starkey attempted to scapegoat Black people for the rioting in the UK during the summer of 2011, even though most of the rioters were not Black. During their discussion, Jones accuses Starkey of "equating black with criminality and white with respectability". Rhetoric like this can often be found in the media; unfortunately, with no-one like Jones normally at the point of consumption to deconstruct it for us.

Additionally, extract (30) has also been read to contain an implicit self/other contrast. The trainee suggests that the influential nature of prejudicial rhetoric may prevent her client from getting further therapeutic support from other services, thereby implying that her therapeutic work was not inhibited by stereotypical assumptions. However, it must be noted that in

extract (27) the same participant is read as unable to prevent herself from drawing on such assumptions during her therapeutic work. In the following section several extracts are used to demonstrate the self/other contrast more fully.

3.3 The Distanced Position

In this first extract David is describing a university supervisory experience at his training institution:

Extract (31)

(D)...but there have actually been times when (0.7) when trainees' had talked about kind of racial or cultural differences and again I'm sort of slightly aligning the two (.) here (.) um when I've felt that it's not been helpful and it's sort of been either a bit misinformed simplistic or (.) or kind of verging on the slightly racist as well

David implicitly contrasts himself with other trainees who are constructed as ignorant to the point of being racist. Much like Justin in extract (29), David is positioned as a knowledgeable progressive thinker, which in turn informs his practice and removes from him any potential for racial prejudice. By way of implicit comparison, David is distanced from a number of the other students within his cohort who are positioned as lacking racial awareness.

Extract (32)

(L) And still kind of generational kind of you know (.) my grandparents-grandfather can be incredibly racist ((F) *yeah unbelievable*) coming from a generation of being in the first world war and kind of (.) ignorance maybe just the kind of the discourse that is used ((F) *yeah*) so that's people who are kind of still living you know

In the above extract, Lucy draws on a discourse of ignorance when constructing her grandfather's racist position. During her talk, Freddie co-constructively mobilises a supportive discourse which alludes to his own experience of a racist grandparent. Once more the implicit contrast suggests that Lucy and Freddie are not racist, since, unlike their grandparents, they are not ignorant. Lucy's statement "*that's people who are kind of still living*" can be read to account for the continued presence of racism in contemporary Britain as a generational issue; however, it also has the effect of distancing Lucy from an attitude she constructs as archaic.

Extract (33)

(J) But I suppose it's also like the generational thing you say (.) umm (1.0) and that's the thing like my old granddad it's like (.) I've got into endless argument and debate with him about it and it just (.) there's no kind of changing him (.) or ever getting him to kind of have a light bulb moment-even just for pc-ness of just not saying it out loud

This excerpt, taken from the same focus group data as extract (32), also contains the self/other contrast of a trainee and their grandparent. Justin explicitly constructs himself as the enlightened crusader, ceaselessly trying to persuade his grandfather to adopt a less prejudicial perspective. The construction "*of just not saying it out loud*" is also of interest as it seems to suggest that progress can be measured by how explicit racist opinions are.

The self-other comparison has been discussed in some depth by Wetherell and Potter (1992), and more recently reviewed by Wetherell (2012, pp. 158-178), and is a crucial element of what has been coined by scholars as 'the prejudice problematic'. When examining the discourses which are available both socio-psychologically and in talk generally, racism is always located within the individual, and "[s]trangely, these people are usually always someone else" (*ibid*, p. 161).

Drawing on the ideas of social psychologist G.W. Allport, who proposes psychological accounts of prejudice and the psychodynamic position which posits individual character defects as responsible for prejudice, Wetherell contends that this individual responsibility for prejudice is a universal position and can be discovered within discursive material the world over. She notes "The local manifestations of prejudice might vary but it can be analysed as a universal human failing. Explanations within the problematic thus tend to focus on this root cause – the deformation of human feelings – before turning outwards to look at how particular social conditions channel its expression (*ibid*, p. 161).

One reading of the above extracts would suggest that the locating of racial prejudice in the individual allows a 'them and us' contrast. This contrast enables trainee counselling psychologists to constructively distance themselves from prejudice, either implicitly or explicitly, via the overt construction of the racially prejudicial other. In the following extract, an alternative contrast is used to similar effect.

Extract (34)

(L) My (.) um (.) Dad although it's nothing to do with this (.) topic of race but he used to teach at a school in London a boys school (.) and he said (.) the tension used to be not between kind of the Black lads and White lads (.) but within kind of (.) cultural ((F) *mhmm*) kind of-kind of Black cultures (.) actually that's where more of the kind of the racism actually kind of occurred rather than this like White on Black Black on White (.) ((F) *mm*) so kind of (0.6) between cultures between kind of different races within cultures

In this extract, not only is Lucy implicitly constructed as without prejudice, the White population of a London boys school is explicitly constructed as such. Racial prejudice is located as between minorities, which unfortunately positions all minorities as intolerant. One reading of this oblique contrast between White and other is that it perpetuates the kind of ideologies which once informed white supremacy and colonialism (Malik, 1996; Fryer, 1984; Lago, 2006; van Dijk 1984, 1987, 1993).

All of these contrasting excerpts support the ideas behind Wetherell and Potter's 'prejudice problematic'. They all draw on socio-psychological discourses, both employed in scientific circles and by lay persons, which are informed by ideas that suggest that all prejudice is a human failing, and all the time individuals choose not to do the work of awareness and self development prejudice will perpetuate. The possible ramifications of such a viewpoint have been noted earlier in this study (pages 70-71).

3.4 The Reflective Position

The data for the final two extracts are taken from individual participant interviews. Both trainees are in the process of recounting some of their experiences of working with clients who were racially different to themselves:

Extract (35)

(S) I heard myself say "oh it sounds as if that's a cultural thing" (.) and she said "yes, yes it is"

Here the talk suggests that Sophie has little control over her own constructions. She distances herself by disclaiming ownership of her own utterance - talk which may be accused of failing to unpack the client's own meanings within their cultural experience, and simply attributing the client's experience to a stereotypical representation of beliefs, customs, practices and social behaviours associated with the client's particular racial/cultural group.

Extract (36)

(T) I remember (.) you know sitting with (0.5) that client from Ghana being really surprised and thinking “oh my god that is how I actually think about (0.5) Black people-African people”

Similarly, in this extract, Tim distances himself from his own thought process. His talk expresses surprise at what one understands to be his own stereotypical assumptions about Black or African people.

In both of these cases the talk can be understood as orientating to potential issues of accountability which may arise from making such statements or claims. For Sophie in extract (35) the conventions associated with counselling psychology would imply that to make any assumptions about a client is not best practice. Indeed, in the *Handbook of Counselling Psychology*, Eleftheriadou (2010) notes that when working cross-culturally, “If we concentrate on the culture we would be in danger of viewing the person in a stereotypical box” (p. 201). Sophie’s efforts to disclaim her own utterance act as a denial of any accountability for herself which may arise if she were challenged.

Likewise with Tim’s talk in extract (36) the prospect of being challenged about his prejudicial beliefs is attenuated by his own expression of horror at having such ideas about other groups. The suggestion is that, once aware, Tim himself begins to challenge such irrational beliefs.

Nonetheless ‘the reflective position’ does provide evidence of the discourse of critical self-reflection within the talk of trainees. Both trainees construct themselves as engaging in mindful contemplation of the discourses they draw on when working with clients who are ‘racially’ or ‘culturally’ different to themselves. I have interpreted this as a progressive position, providing evidence that over-generalised theories of minority cultures are not thoughtlessly acted out within the practice of counselling psychology trainees.

3.5 Summary

The concluding section of this analysis has examined data which accounts for the presence of prejudice and stereotypical assumptions in the talk of trainee counselling psychologists and the wider population in general.

The first section 3.1 offers constructions which have been interpreted to explain the universal existence of prejudice by its continued representation within contemporary

discourses. The present analysis identified this as a rhetorical strategy which acknowledges that one is prejudiced but through no fault of one's own. Additionally, this position has been identified as a 'rhetorical commonplace' providing a commonsense understanding which trainees can draw on in support of a variety of arguments. My reading of these three extracts suggests that this account of the presence of racist significations in everyday talk justifies racial prejudice, and neglects to question the consequences associated with the discursive reproduction of said significations.

In section 3.2 the use of two extracts demonstrates the role of the media in the continued existence of racial prejudice. As with the 'socially constructed position', the 'mediated position' implies a discursive passivity where prejudice is in the ether, waiting to be picked up. However, in both of these extracts the trainees offer a self/other contrast which positions them as able to take a perspective of discernment towards stereotypical assumptions.

This self/other contrast is taken up more fully in section 3.3 with the inclusion of 'the distanced position'. Here, four excerpts from the data demonstrate how trainees manage to distance themselves from the racially prejudiced other, when either implicitly or explicitly contrasted against others who are constructed as racially prejudiced. In addition, this distanced position and its relationship to the limiting aspect of the location of prejudice in the individual has been established. It is asserted, as it has also been by other psychologists, that whilst prejudice is considered a problem of the individual, the role of social, political and institutional structures is left peacefully unexamined.

At 3.4, the final position in this section of the analysis, 'the reflective position', offers two extracts which illustrate how trainees construct themselves as surprised by their own limiting or stereotypical utterances, again fitting aptly into the discursive space of 'victims of discourse'. The interpretation here is that, once identified and owned, trainees are constructed as doing the work of awareness which will eliminate prejudices which might hamper one's practice.

Most of the statements in section 3 orientate towards possible issues of accountability for racial prejudice. The trainee counselling psychologists introduce the ultimate disclaimer 'it wasn't me, it was the discourse', creating the potential to deny personal accountability if challenged. Alternatively, trainees construct prejudicial discourses as belonging to sources other than themselves by way of implicit and explicit contrast, positioning themselves as

without prejudice. In relation to the rest of this analysis, it is suggested that these two positions are interrelated with the discursive fields 'interculturalism' and 'pluralism'.

The acknowledgement of one's prejudices and stereotypical assumptions, however vouched for, is interpreted as belonging to the discursive field of 'interculturalism'. Discourses in this field engage with the exploration of one's personal relationship to prejudice and the need for continued self-reflection. However, the 'socially constructed position' is interestingly informed by a postmodern perspective, the same perspective which informs the discursive field of 'pluralism'. This is a further example of the way in which ideologies become conflated in the co-creation of ever-evolving discourses.

In addition, the rhetoric of 'interculturalism' contains talk of generalised or common understandings of 'racial' groups or 'cultural' practices. This final section of the analysis demonstrates the potentially harmful actions associated with stereotypical representations of minority groups. Unfortunately, as has been noted earlier, an unintended consequence of the use of group understandings is that they may promote an ethnocentric view of the world, perpetuate inequality, and thwart the therapeutic process.

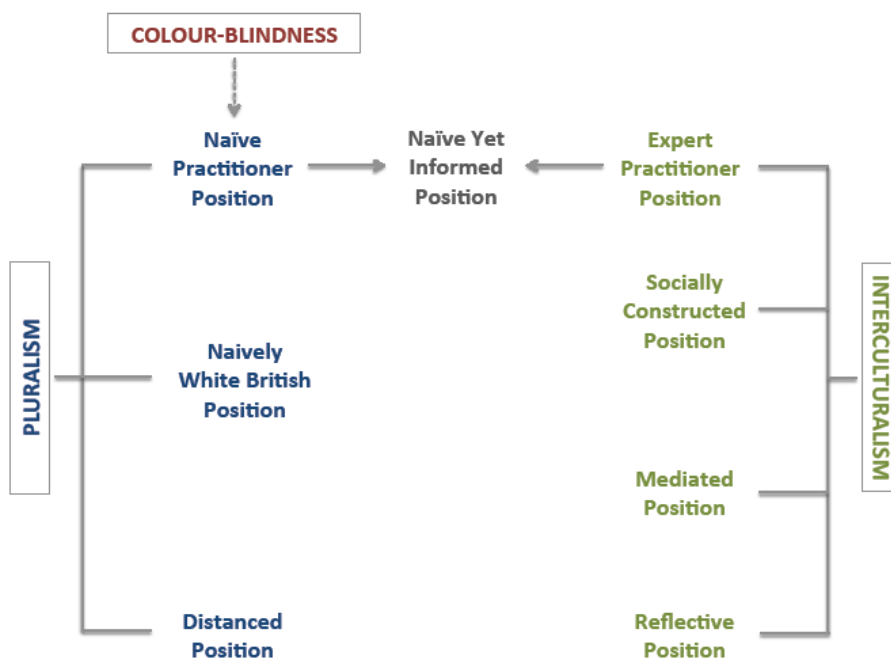
Conversely, when trainees are distancing themselves from prejudice and stereotypical notions by way of implicit/explicit self/other contrasts, they move into the discursive field of 'pluralism', contrasting themselves as without preconceptions.

4. Final Thoughts

This analytical journey commenced with the clear identification of three discursive fields, fields which I had discovered previously identified by Gordon (1996). Work began by following these fields through the participants' talk and I came to the conclusion that, no matter what was being said, the trainees' talk always inhabited one of these three discursive fields.

The discursive fields and their various interrelated subject positions have been summarised and represented diagrammatically as follows:

Diagram 1



Although not well-represented in the data, significations which would be considered as related to the field of 'colour-blindness' appear to be associated with creating the impression of a belief in the equality of all 'races', or an impression of equality between therapist and client. Although well-intentioned, notable differences are ignored, creating the potential to discount racism and other forms of prejudice. This ideological stance was reflected in the simplistic view associated with the naïve position. This subject position is expressed by a trusting view of the therapeutic process, where all are treated equally in a liberal, egalitarian environment.

The theme of equality also seemed significant within the discourse of 'pluralism'. However, constructions relating to this discursive field appeared to acknowledge the simultaneous presence of difference in many and varied guises, diversity never being denied or privileged. Within the analysis, this discursive field is also associated with the 'naïve practitioner' discourse.

The 'naïve practitioner' has been constructed in both a negative and a positive way. Trainees' talk constructed a value-free therapeutic encounter as the most principled approach to practice. This was distinctly contrasted with constructions of clumsiness, incompetence and ignorance associated with the practical experience of such an approach.

The talk of professional inadequacy was interrelated to constructions which have been read as part of the discursive field of 'interculturalism'. This discursive field contains rhetoric which supports group knowledge and generalised understandings of other 'racial/cultural' groups. Contrary to the discourse of the 'naïve practitioner', this discourse creates the position of the 'expert practitioner', locating specialist professionals who do the work of intercultural therapy. It was noted that, when trainees drew on this discourse, they appeared to be invested in protecting an image of themselves as competent practitioners, this competency being secured with the use of general information with which they might better understand their clients.

The counselling psychology trainees appear to be caught in a dilemma between these two discursive fields. Pluralistic practice is represented as the most ethical approach to practice, but this is counterpoised by a need to appear competent and professional, personal integrity being eclipsed by professionalism. This tension is evident throughout much, if not all, of the analysis.

Further evidence of this dilemma is in the construction of the 'naïve yet informed' position. Here discourses from the discursive fields of 'pluralism' and 'interculturalism' intertwine to create a position which draws on constructions relevant to both the 'naïve' and 'expert' practitioner subject positions.

In the final section of the analysis, the discursive field of 'interculturalism' produces the 'socially constructed' and 'mediated' positions. From both of these positions the trainees argue that stereotypes and prejudicial assumptions are within one's discursive environment and as such are unavoidable. This passive process can be interpreted as justifying racism and

racial prejudice, whilst failing to question the ramifications of the reproduction of such assumptions. However, the ideological principles of 'interculturalism' also inform the position of 'reflective practitioner', which points to the ability of individuals to recognise potentially damaging stereotypical assumptions and challenge them via critical self-reflection. These contradictory positions further illuminate the lack of theoretical unity informing the trainees' talk.

Finally, the construction of the 'distanced position' takes the talk back to the discursive field of 'pluralism'. From this position trainees are constructed as without racial prejudices and stereotypical assumptions, free to appreciate the uniqueness of the other. However, the trainees do so by contrasting themselves against the prejudicial other informed by the stereotypical assumptions generated by the field of 'interculturalism'.

It is hoped that the diagram above and this final brief overview draw attention to the fluidity which, it is argued, is readily associated with all of the discursive fields and subject positions as they appear in this study. Discursive fields appear to create conflicting subject positions, whilst competing ideologies intermingle to produce others. This lack of theoretical and ideological coherence unmistakably represents the principles of social constructionism - principles which have informed this analysis.

Chapter 5

Discussion

Findings

The analysis of the data collected for this study has focused on the ideological fields of 'colour-blindness', 'interculturalism' and pluralism, along with the discursive positions they create. It has been argued that when the talk of White British trainee counselling psychologists is focused on the area of racial difference, the struggle for an appropriate practitioner identity causes their positions to shift between these alternative fields, often oscillating between the fields of 'interculturalism' and 'pluralism'.

For the purpose of this analysis I have adhered to a relatively strict division between the fields of psychotherapeutic thought, with what some may deem a conservative interpretation of the philosophy underpinning each field. The humanistic thinking which creates the field of 'colour-blindness' has two beliefs at its heart, namely, people have the unique ability "to overcome the constraints placed on them by nature", and "all humans possess something in common...often described as a common 'human nature'" (Malik, 1996, p. 237). During this analysis, these ideas have been interpreted to inform discourses, which discount the disadvantage which can be experienced by people within the UK who do not find themselves as part of the White majority, whilst also neglecting the personal and collective experiences of these people.

The ideas which inform the discursive field of 'interculturalism' have been broadly interpreted as "an approach to psychotherapy which not only takes account of racial and ethnic differences between psychotherapist and client, but which places such difference at the centre of therapy" (Gordon, 1996, p. 197). Ethnocentric assumptions about the world are challenged and a reflexive approach to one's work is encouraged. However, during this study, I have contended that despite its best intentions, such an approach, which promotes collective understandings of other racial or cultural groups, inadvertently contributes to the stereotypical views which inform racial prejudice.

In addition, the discourses of 'interculturalism' are often still framed within a western interpretation of the world. This interpretation emphasises individualism and independence, depends on linear thinking, and devalues client context and interpersonal systems of relationships in their role as assets to recovery (Lago, 2006). A further unintentional outcome

can be the reinforcement of these western assumptions as the norm all others deviate from, perpetuating notions of inferiority pertaining to other 'racial' groups.

An additional limiting aspect of the discourses and positions offered by the discursive field of 'interculturalism' is the inherent focus on reflexivity. Whilst racial prejudice is acknowledged, it is argued that this prejudice is constructed as a product of the individual. Again, arguably stemming from the western focus on individualism, this neglect of wider socio-political influences on discriminatory processes discursively positions people of BME populations in passive subject positions, suggesting that, only through the White person's development of self awareness, and action on that awareness, can racism be addressed. This assumption disregards the potential agency and power of the minority group or individual, therein further reproducing the unequal power relations that exist between the groups.

My own interpretation of the thought behind the discursive field of 'pluralism' has taken the popular view of pluralistic ideology as a value of "the diversity of perspectives inherent in any conversation" (McAteer, 2010, p. 6). From this perspective group knowledge is shunned in favour of the engagement with the uniqueness of the other.

Current literature (House, 2003; McAteer, 2010; Milton, 2010), the talk of the participants, and the findings of this thesis, all construct the pluralistic approach as the most respectful and appropriate attitude towards one's practice. Indeed, I must concede that throughout this study pluralism has virtually been constructed as 'purism' and its version of practice has been presented as being the most incorrupt. I realise that whilst engaged in the analytic process I have found it difficult to challenge the perfection discursively associated with the pluralistic stance.

When taking a critical view of the discursive field of 'pluralism', along with its associated positions of naivety, it became clear that such a simplistic interpretation of this ideological position, which appeared to be informing counselling psychology trainings, was at best sincere and at worst ignorant. 'Pluralistic' discourses can obscure pre-existing power relations, which may become manifest unconsciously between therapist and client. Racial or cultural differences can be ignored in favour of individual differences, this neglect mirroring the unintended consequences of discourses located in the discursive field of 'colour-blindness'. In addition, such an orthodox approach to pluralistic practice can justify ignorance.

If one takes a look at the discourses currently associated with the field of 'interculturalism', one would recognise a more holistic view of the word 'culture'. This area has now developed to incorporate diversity beyond 'racial' or 'ethnic' groups, and acknowledges "the complex interplay of factors such as gender, class, age, race, ethnicity and sexual orientation" – namely the intersectionality of these factors (Lago, 2006, p. 19). This postmodern stance recognises the ever-increasing multitude of perspectives which will be presented to us within the therapeutic encounter.

In this sense, it could be argued that the contemporary discourses associated with the field of 'interculturalism' actually merge with the ideology which informs the openness of 'pluralism' – indicating, perhaps, that the 'new interculturalism' is 'pluralism'. Interestingly, this merging of ideas appears to be represented in the construction of the 'naïve yet informed position'.

The trainees' talk navigates between the discursive fields of 'pluralism' and 'interculturalism', via the subject positions of 'naïve practitioner' and 'expert practitioner', managing at times to establish the 'naïve yet informed' position which sanctions the use of pre-existing 'cultural' knowledge alongside an openness to the unique voice of the other. However, this appears to be fostered by a desire to project an image of the skilled professional, whilst alleviating the anxiety that trainees' construct as present when working with clients who are different from them.

Although such an approach to one's practice may be in the client's interest, it is not constructed as such. The positive aspects of developing cultural awareness, developing an informed, compassion-based understanding of the social, political and religious world of the racially different other has all but been lost.

Nonetheless, I am of the opinion that this 'binocular view' (i.e., keeping one lens on the client's cultural background and the other on the client's unique otherness) which characterises the 'naïve yet informed' position, is a progressive stance that can be further developed, since it attempts to combine the better aspects of both theoretical viewpoints. However, the trainee's talk does not appear to rest here comfortably and the purism of 'pluralism', with its commitment to ethical, value-free openness to the other, always seems to have the discursive upper hand. I would argue that the discourses surrounding the field of counselling psychology promote a purist approach to pluralistic practice which compromises the cross-cultural practice of its trainees.

A further troubling aspect examined in this analysis is the construction of postmodern theory as a defence against racism and racial prejudice. The elimination of intention from the individual, which has been legitimated by the process of deconstruction, appears to inform the 'socially constructed position'. Between this and the 'mediated position', trainees passively account for their own potential for racial prejudice, whilst the wider socio-political processes that perpetuate racial stereotyping are not interrogated. Furthermore, from this passive position, trainees appear to be unable to question the impact of their assumptions on their therapeutic practice.

This problem takes the following dilemmatic form: when racism and racial prejudice are externally located, their related issues and consequences for the individual appear to be discursively neglected. However, if the presence of racism and racial prejudice are internally located, they are implicitly constructed as the problem of the unenlightened individual. This perspective is further compounded, given that, as data suggests, some of the trainees distance themselves from their own potential for prejudice by contrasting themselves against other more overt racist practitioners. Furthermore, both perspectives fail to examine the role of institutional frameworks in the perpetuation of discriminatory discourses.

In order to address this discursive lack, counselling psychology trainings could potentially incorporate a module where trainees engage in a critical deconstruction of counselling psychology articles and research papers on the topics of racism and racial prejudice. This would help trainees understand the role which institutions play in cultivating and disseminating 'regimes of truth', whilst simultaneously maintaining a deconstructive focus on the discourses within the field, the subject positions they create, and what is enabled and constrained by each position.

Unfortunately, my own interpretation of the data obtained for this study does little to counter the 'them and us' position criticised in the outcomes of many of the studies cited in the previous literature review. The progressive discourse highlighted by the 'reflective position' keeps prejudice located in the individual, with all of the associated costs. However, the 'naïve yet informed position' may promise something better, as "it is at those points of fracture and contradiction that there is scope for change and the redirection of argument" (Wetherell, 2012, p. 176).

If a more holistic interpretation of the ideology of 'pluralism', which, as has been argued, can be more readily discerned as a contemporary understanding of 'interculturalism', were

incorporated in the field of counselling psychology, then it is likely that discourses which espouse the value of diversity, on both a macro and micro level, would be better represented within the talk of counselling psychology trainees.

The positives would be a continued challenge to ethnocentric assumptions, a sustained effort to empower all minoritised groups - never privileging one voice over another, an ever evolving acknowledgement of diversity, where space for new understandings, of both similarities and dissimilarities, may emerge.

However, even this theoretical collaboration would need continued critical examination to identify unintentional consequences from which it would not be immune. Unfortunately, the discourses which sustain racial prejudice have proven very resilient; "The forms of legitimation are varied, florid and forever changing in remarkable ways" (*ibid*, p. 176-177). In addition, the inherent struggle in maintaining a 'binocular view' demands sustained rigorous critical self-reflection, being ever open to detecting what is shaping one's talk, and how one's practice is being influenced.

I agree with the views of Gilroy (1987) and Wetherell (2012) that whilst a utopian vision of a world free of racial prejudice seems possible when racism is located in the unenlightened individual, this is not realistic. It is not to say that there will not always be a place for critical reflexivity; however, an approach which values "critique and local action" involving all affected parties, will arguably do more to impact upon the social and political conditions which sustain inequality (*ibid*, p. 177).

Finally, the relative absence of discourses related to the discursive field of 'colour-blindness' must also be recognised. Although emerging from a liberal ideology of equality to all, several theorists (Eleftheriadou, 2010; Lago, 2006; Malik, 1996; Tuckwell, 2002) have exposed the *inequality* associated with treating different people as being the same. This seems to neglect pre-existing power dynamics, along with the associated failure to recognise experiences of racism and discrimination, both inside and outside the therapeutic encounter.

It would appear that this now well-established recognition of the limitations and drawbacks of a colour-blind approach, have informed the discourses drawn on by the counselling psychology trainees. This has been interpreted as a further positive finding, stressing the benefits of continued practical and theoretical re-evaluation.

Method of Analysis

Critical discursive psychology (CDP) was adopted in this study as a proven contemporary method of analysis, which has moved understandings of racism and racial prejudice beyond the cognitive, personal and interpersonal domains. It is a qualitative method of analysis which rejects the objectivity of empirical research and the search for conclusive theories or definitive 'truths'. CDP recognises itself - and the researchers who employ it - as part of the discursive landscape it surveys. It enables the researcher to critically reflect on their contribution to the version of events being analysed, revealing the "social embeddedness of research and science" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 7).

I took the view that a method of analysis which studied "justification, rationalization, categorization, attribution, naming and blaming" (Willig, 2008a, p. 96), as ways that people managed their interests, would be helpful in offering an understanding of the continued existence of racism and racial prejudice. However, the abstract nature of the philosophy which underpins CDP makes it a testing analytical resource.

CDP explores the construction of social reality, and as such it denies the pre-existence of social constructs, including notions of self, which may indicate one's intentions or substantiate one's actions. In essence, CDP ignores the individual and their subjectivity, rendering it "potentially insufficient to understand why people are committed to their accounts" (Cresswell, 2012, p. 564).

The incorporation of CDP within this study has left me, and likely the reader, with some unanswered questions. The interpretations made in this study have relied heavily on issues of stake and impression management. The trainees' apparent need to appear professional, principled and without prejudicial motivations, are straightforwardly interpreted as intrinsic to their related discursive positions. Moreover, they appear as unquestioned commonsense aspects of counselling psychology practice, which are talked into being throughout the interviews and focus groups.

CDP problematises the notion of cognitive processes and with good reason. Cognitive psychology proposes that there is an objective reality which processes of perception enable us to perceive and come to know. This knowledge informs "cognitive structures" which are "relatively enduring", but can be subject to revision when later influences or experiences have a significant enough impact to warrant cognitive restructuring (Willig, 2008a, p. 95). In

this sense, one maintains relatively consistent opinions and reports reasonably reliable interpretations of life events. However, CDP analysts dispute this theory as their critical analyses, including this one, repeatedly reveal the self-contradictory aspect of identity formation and experience.

However, without some acknowledgement of a self, fixed or otherwise, the findings of this study reveal a level of incoherence. One is left wondering why these individuals are so keenly invested in being represented as without prejudice or as ethically driven, competent and professional practitioners, if they do not possess a cognitive representation of themselves which they wish to live up to.

A further complication in this study is the frequent reference to self-awareness and reflexivity. If one supports the notion that one is able to objectively consider and critically reflect, with a view to modifying their behaviour/attitudes, one has lost ontological and epistemological consonance with the philosophical and methodological principles of CDP.

Theoretically one could argue that definitions of self are re-created via discourse, and that thought is simply self-talk – this self-talk also being part of the social construction process. However, the term ‘self-reflective’ suggests that there is an inherent structure within one’s being that enables progressive development. The crucial question that arises here is: without this inherent structure, how do we develop? How do we condition ourselves to social norms unless there is some part of us which responds to the discomforts associated with inappropriateness, unkindness and so forth? CDP, with its penchant for critical detachment, introduces distance between people in a way that does not sit well with my training as a *relational* counselling psychologist.

An article by Martin and Sugarman (2000), makes a reasonable attempt to find a space “between the modern and the postmodern” (p. 397), where western individualism makes way for a cooperative understanding of social development, which does not negate the existence of a psychological self capable of progressive change. Whilst they agree with the postmodernists’ dismissal of foundationalist assumptions of reality, where entities are fixed and knowable, they take issue with the radical extremism where “reality is characterized by a chaotic, random flux, the arbitrary ordering of which reflects only dominant socio-cultural positions and interests” (*ibid*, pp. 402-403).

Martin and Sugarman (2000) also propose that postmodern theorists' reduction of our understanding of psychological subjectivity to sociocultural conventions or neuropsychological states is unsuccessful. They take the view that true achievement can only be claimed by reductive approaches if "they are ontologically informative", in that they demonstrate "that what was described as two different things is actually one thing. Successful reduction is impossible if important aspects of adequate conceptions of things are lost in the reductive exercise" (*ibid*, p. 403).

As a counselling psychologist in training, who spends her life navigating the human condition, this neglect of the person is problematic. In terms of my own personal and professional development, I undertake a sustained commitment to critical self-reflection, both personally and professionally. To be in a profession which is established on a foundation of personal development, the eradication of agency is acutely absurd. For this researcher, the significant areas of motivation and desire must be more adequately addressed by CDP theorists.

I realise that this argument brings me back to the position of a 'critical realist' which I dispute in my methodology. But throughout this process, this has been a constant tension for me, the fight against my own construction of, and engagement with, a pre-existing reality, and my own sense of self.

In an effort to remedy this criticism, Cresswell (2012) argues that experience as a phenomenological event can be studied using discourse analytic methods, and is of particular relevance to the phenomenon of racism. Drawing on the ideas of Mikhail Bakhtin, he proposes that language "is embodied and so immediate phenomenological experience is socio-linguistic" (*ibid*, p. 565). Through his interpretations of videotaped interactions, Cresswell illustrates how experience is an integral aspect of social discourse. The research demonstrates a "coordinated accomplishment of experience", where collective participation in its construction allows for the experience to come into being (*ibid*, p. 570). This is a welcome door of re-admittance into the realms of human experience. However, it still fails to address the full implications of a deconstructive approach to humanity.

Methods of Data Collection

When combining methods of data collection, in this case interviews and focus groups, there are documented strategies associated with the sequencing of methods (Morgan, 1997). Either method can be used to inform an interview schedule, facilitating a more focused approach to data gathering in the alternative condition. For this study I was certain of the areas I wished to investigate, and being informed by a social constructionist approach to research, where construction of 'reality' should never be engineered, I intentionally wanted my questions to be vague.

However, this certainty towards the area of investigation suggested that I did have an agenda. Indeed, my own experience of training proffered the opinion that an examination of oneself as a White individual and practitioner within a racialised context, opened up many significant, but previously unidentified issues. Because of my belief in its importance, I was left wondering about the level of engagement undertaken by other trainees, who would describe themselves as, like myself, namely, White, British and English-Speaking. This in turn led to questions regarding the influence of training institutions, and the impact of training and self development on one's professional practice.

Using participant-led focus groups in addition to interviews prevented this agenda from becoming the driving force of the entire data collection process. By holding the focus group after the interview, I was prevented from becoming familiar with each participant's level of training and awareness and customising my interview approach accordingly. The presence of this agenda can be recognised throughout the interview process, in the formulation of follow up questions which often appear to adhere to my guiding interest.

Nonetheless, I do not consider the focus groups to have been free from influence. Whilst I took no part in the discussion I remained present throughout the process and efforts may well have been made to 'please the researcher' (Coolican, 2004, p. 68). Implicit expectations may well have been discerned from the interview process, subsequently informing the discourses drawn on during the focus groups. Additionally, in both conditions the participants would have been aware of the impending analytical process, promising potential deconstructive interrogation of their every word. This, combined with the sensitivity of the subject under investigation, may have contributed to self-editing in both conditions.

Critique aside, there is a notable richness to the quality of the focus group data, as the trainees debate and discuss what these issues mean to them, whereas in the interview data mostly simple descriptive statements are provided. It is impossible to discern what has contributed to this: an absence of discursive steering, or the propensity of focus groups to naturally provide richer data, or indeed a mixture of both. The combination of both methods has provided a body of data which arguably better represents the range of discourses drawn on by trainees in this area, whilst being substantial enough to allow for a comprehensive analysis.

Further valued aspects of the focus group data are its service to a method of analysis which seeks to demonstrate the co-constructed nature of alternate subject positions. The descriptive responses provided by interviews, are unable to illuminate this process of cooperative development as efficiently as multiple voices do. The discourses drawn on appear to alternate more swiftly with multiple perspectives, arguably allowing for the creation of many and varied subject positions.

From a practical perspective the study has been blessed with the efficiency of the focus groups themselves. Owing to the successful ability of the participants to negotiate the interview schedule, I was able to limit my involvement to a bare minimum. During both groups, all of the participants appeared to have a voice. This may be because the research involved people who are in the business of allowing others the space to talk. Those who did contribute a little less, interestingly, were those whose interviews were on the shorter side, inferring that they are naturally quieter on the subject being investigated or in general. Lastly, although the talk in each interview and focus group did take its own direction, it remained focused on the study's questions of interest, and as such could be readily examined as a coherent body of data.

However, it may still be argued that even the combination of both methods of data collection failed to provide a sufficiently considerable body of data for analysis. Although generally dictated to by the constraints of each particular study and the research question itself, "semi-structured interviews generally last for a considerable amount of time (usually an hour or more) and can become intense and involved, depending on the particular topic" (Smith & Osborn, 2008, p. 63). For this study the longest of the 8 interviews was only 41 minutes with the average being only 24 minutes. At the time of interview I was reluctant to press people too hard as I was concerned that I may alienate them from discussing such a

sensitive topic. When I sensed a participant naturally drying up I brought the interview to a close rather than push them any further. Willig (2008a) notes: "The semi-structured interview requires sensitive and ethical negotiation...Interviewers should not abuse the informal ambience of the interview to encourage the interviewee to reveal more than they may feel comfortable with" (p. 25)

Focus groups usually run for between "1-3 hours (depending on the topics/activities to be included and the availability/commitment of the participants)" (Wilkinson, 2008, p. 195). In this case, the focus groups were 55.36 and 50.51 minutes long. Again, I envisaged potential difficulty discussing the topic under investigation so the recruitment material outlined a 30-45 minute focus group. The first group consisted of four participants and would have likely run for longer; however, I felt an ethical responsibility to remain close to the time I had told participants they would be required for and brought the group to an end after 55 minutes. The second focus group was arguably weakened by the absence of one of the participants who did not attend. Having been present at both groups I would say that the talk did not flow as smoothly in the second focus group as in the first and the participants eventually dried up after 50 minutes.

However, with hindsight the vagueness of the questions may have made it difficult for the participants to engage with the subject under investigation with depth and clarity. An interview process where I additionally questioned the participants' responses may have created richer and deeper data for analysis. This said, I am of the opinion that the interviews and focus groups did provide ample material for the present analysis. Whilst general guidelines for qualitative research use time as the appropriate gauge for the collection of data for analysis (Flick, 2009; Smith & Osborn, 2008; Willig, 2008a) this could be considered as a crude and reductive measure. It is argued that periods of time are a flawed yardstick for data quantity, with prolific talkers sometimes contributing twice as much data as slower ones. Quality may also be present throughout much of a concise, focused interview, whilst absent during a substantial one with a subject who insists on straying off topic. During this study the broad yet focused questions kept the participants on topic.

The recruitment process was a difficult one. My initial nationwide attempt to recruit via the DCoP (the BPS division of Counselling Psychology) bi-weekly email newsletter received no responses. I then sent requests for participants directly to the PsychD course administrators of 5 institutions in and around Greater London. The first four participants

came forward relatively quickly, however, a second round of recruitment to the same institutions took place before the subsequent four trainees agreed to participate. There may have been some reluctance on behalf of these trainees to talk on the subject. Indeed, three of their four interviews were on the shorter side, and then with only three of them present during the focus group the collective sensitivity might have become quite inhibiting.

A final point regarding the alternative data sets are their positioning throughout the analysis of this thesis. Often, I have chosen to demonstrate my point using interview extracts, followed by focus group extracts. This has not been to privilege one data set over the other. It has simply been an effort to maintain coherence in the written work, and enable the reader to navigate the study's findings with relative ease.

Participants

A further critique of this study is my failure to provide any real definition of the term 'White British'. In an effort to keep this study underpinned by the epistemological principles of social constructionism, participants were asked to self define as 'White British'. In essence anybody could have come forward presenting themselves as such. I believed that to provide a definition I could have been accused of subscribing to the essentialism that contributes to racial categorisation in the first place, (although arguably, this study seems to do this anyway). Nevertheless, I could have explored this self-classification in more depth, perhaps asking the participants how or why they define themselves as 'White British' and exploring their construction of this.

Findings in Relation to Other Literature

Similarities can be drawn between the unintended consequences of the discourses identified in this study, alongside the findings of research into microaggressions that may emerge in the counselling setting (Constantine, 2007) identified in the present studies literature review. Some of the identified microaggressions were: denial of personal potential for racism, minimising of racial/cultural issues, use of stereotypical assumptions about racial or ethnic groups, and the colour-blind attitude.

The position of 'expert practitioner' is produced by discourses that incorporate group understandings, understandings which can be informed by stereotypical assumptions. Conversely, the position of 'naïve practitioner' is created by discourses which suggest one should approach their practice without any pre-existing knowledge of the racially different

other. From this position racism and racial prejudice can be minimised and interpreted as common acts of bullying.

From the 'distanced position' trainees favourably contrast themselves against the racially prejudiced other. Moreover, from this position the trainees are prevented from undertaking any examination of their own potential for racism. This recognition of the harm perpetuated by the subject positions exposed in this study is a sobering reminder that, despite the quandary of realism versus constructionism, very real experiences occur because of racism and racial prejudice.

It could be argued that the communication of racial microaggressions which is perpetuated by the previously identified subject positions points to a need for further training and critical self-examination. However, I am reluctant to support previous research in this area (Castillo, et al., 2007; D'Andrea, et al., 1991; Neville et al., 1996; Sadowsky, et al., 1998) as it maintains the premise that racism and racial prejudice are the problem of the unenlightened individual. Nonetheless, I have not rejected the positive aspects associated with developing White awareness.

This research supports previous studies which suggest that White people should become aware of their 'whiteness' (e.g. Ryde, 2009; Tuckwell, 2002). The identification of the 'naively White British' position where trainees struggle to find their voice in multiracial environments suggests a lack of engagement with progressive ideas. In the literature review, studies by Utsey and Gernat (2002) and Utsey, Gernat and Hammar (2005) expose the more likely manifestation of primitive defences and the unchecked presence of White privilege when the therapist has a low level of racial awareness and sensitivity.

The researcher takes the view that White people must become aware of their place in a multiracial environment. Once aware one may understand how discourses which privilege a White perspective inform institutional practices and dominate discourses which emanate from public offices. This type of understanding reduces personal responsibility for racial prejudice whilst drawing attention to it as a wider issue. Indeed, this means of understanding is deemed as essential to the continued reduction of racism.

To identify the findings of this research as 'in congruence' with those adopting conventional scientific methods could be argued as epistemologically and ontologically contradictory. The findings of this study are not presented as 'truths' but just as ideas. To

compare and contrast these ideas with studies which claim 'truths' may be too theoretically disagreeable for some. However, as has been noted earlier, we should not throw the baby of modernity out with its bathwater (Martin & Sugarman, 2000). Indeed, Potter and Wetherell (1987) warn against theoretical bias, as once one begins to favour one way of knowing over another, they are knee deep in a dispute that social constructionists, by definition, cannot be part of.

Moreover, this study supports previous research findings which have identified how discourses can maintain racial prejudice and discrimination (van Dijk, 1993, 1992). As with Wetherell and Potter's (1992) and Vautier's (2009) studies, the present research has identified how seemingly anti-racist constructions inadvertently maintain racial prejudice. This underlines the need to establish the harm which may lie behind the seemingly innocuous or well intentioned.

Unlike other research in counselling and psychotherapy which has unearthed racial prejudice by way of an alternative guiding question (e.g. Guilfoyle, 2002; Roy-Chowdhury, 2003; Soal & Kottler, 1996), this study has made racial prejudice the focus of its investigation. In an effort to fill an absence within counselling psychology directly, its participants have been part of the discipline itself. To the best of my knowledge, it remains the only study to take such an approach.

Although the present study does not support the progressive nature of the discourses in and around counselling and psychotherapy which is hoped for in Gordon's (1996) paper, there is some evidence of a reduction in discourses related to the discursive field of 'colour-blindness'. However, care must be taken to ensure that these are not simply being replaced by the constructions of 'purism' rather than 'pluralism', which it can be argued have the same discriminatory effect.

The call for systemic change (Lago, 2006; Sanchez-Hucles & Jones, 2005; Thompson-Miller & Feagin, 2007; Wetherell, 2012) has been tackled by this research. My efforts to shed light on the systems of discourse within the framework of counselling psychology, which may sustain racial prejudice, are a small step in attempting to remedy the problem.

Suggestions for Future Research

In the first instance this study can be replicated with other White British trainee counselling psychologists. It would be interesting to discover whether the three discursive fields, 'colour-blindness', 'interculturalism' and 'pluralism', are represented in other interviews or focus groups, and the subject positions that they create for other trainees. A countrywide recruitment campaign would also potentially bring an alternative perspective to the research.

The eight trainees who took part in this study were all undertaking their PsychD training at training organisations within Greater London. Widening the recruitment area would offer an opportunity to examine discourses from areas which are arguably less culturally diverse than London. This process would also enable the examination of a wider range of voices from a larger cohort of training institutions.

In line with my suggestion that 'pluralism' may be the 'new interculturalism', future investigations could contrast and compare discourses contained in the literature which supports pluralistic practice against contemporary theories of intercultural practice. Whilst offering a comparison of the rhetoric associated with each theoretical viewpoint, any unintended prejudicial actions inherent in the literature may also be exposed. From here a unified theory could be developed with the potential to underpin practice more congruent with the 'naïve yet informed' position. The findings of this study having proposed that this theoretically inclusive position offers a better basis for practice, for both trainees and clients alike.

Research into discrimination could also be widened to include the intersectionality of issues such as race, gender and class. Authors such as Jones (2012, p xx) identify the construction of the "feral underclass" where people from all 'races/cultures' are grouped together as barely human. In this model the right-living middle-class majority (mostly White) are dichotomised against the lawless (usually culturally diverse) people living on council estates and claiming benefits. A simple deconstruction illustrates how such discourse continues to position BME populations as part of contemporary society's problems. The point where identities intersect is a truly fertile ground for CDP research, potentially revealing the filtering of racism into other areas of discrimination.

This study sprang from my personal concerns as to how well trainees engaged with issues which may arise when working with people of other 'cultures' or 'ethnicities'. Throughout the counselling psychology training we are introduced to many aspects of therapeutic work which we may, or may not, have previously considered. My own experience was that once I identified gaps in my experience or understanding, via personal development, I worked hard to acquire the knowledge which would facilitate thoughtful and compassionate, professional and ethical therapeutic work. However, it became clear that such an uncomfortable process of self-examination could easily be sidestepped by less painstaking trainees. My concern is that without a fearless and thorough effort to interrogate one's potential for prejudice, alongside genuine efforts to understand the role of socio-political structures in the continuing presence of racial prejudice, counselling psychologists will continue to contribute to the marginalisation of other 'racial/cultural/ethnic' groups, both in and out of the therapeutic setting.

The findings of this study suggest that despite their best endeavours, counselling psychology trainings do not appear to be paying enough attention to the examination of cross-cultural practice, and the issues of entitlement and privilege that are prevalent for White British professionals. Furthermore, this arguably limits a predominately White discipline from effectively examining the institutions associated with counselling psychology, for any part they may be playing in the continued reproduction of racism and racial prejudice. It is essential that the findings of this study are actively acknowledged and that further research continues to examine our work and training in this area.

I believe that any future research which investigates the many ways in which discourses shape social organisation will always offer a space to 'say something different'. Each study is an opportunity to hear quieter or developing voices, arguably enriching the debate surrounding discriminatory practices. This debate will ultimately enable us to discriminate less.

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Appendices

Appendix 1	Interview Questions
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Appendix 1

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

White Trainee Counselling Psychologists Attitudes Towards Racial Prejudice

1. Can you recall your experience of training and personal development in the area of racial difference?

2. Can you recall any of your experiences of working with clients' who were racially different to yourself?

Appendix 2

INFORMATION FOR POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS

White Trainee Counselling Psychologists Attitudes Towards Racial Prejudice

My name is Sharon O'Driscoll and I am a student studying at Roehampton University. I have just completed the second year of a PsychD in Counselling Psychology and am undertaking a piece of research which will contribute to the completion of my professional doctorate.

This study aims to explore White trainee counselling psychologists' attitudes towards racial prejudice and their experiences of training in this area.

I intend to conduct one to one semi-structured interviews lasting around 30 minutes and a 30-45 minute one off focus group with between four and five participants. The interviews will take place at locations convenient to each participant and the focus group will take place at Roehampton University – date and time to be arranged. It is necessary for volunteers to commit to both stages of data collection. The areas I will be looking at are:

- Experiences of training in the area of racial difference
- Experiences of working with clients' who are racially different to yourself

The researcher respects the sensitivity of this subject and your interview/focus group will be conducted respectfully in a non-judgmental manner. All data gathered during this study will be held securely and anonymously. If you wish to withdraw from the study you may do so at any point but your data may still appear in the final research write up.

If you would like to take part in the study or have any queries my details are as follows:

Sharon T O'Driscoll
Department of Psychology
Roehampton University
Whitelands College
Holybourne Avenue
London
SW15 4JD
Email: odriscos@roehampton.ac.uk
Tel: 07703 299 177

Appendix 3
PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

White Trainee Counselling Psychologists Attitudes Towards Racial Prejudice

This study aims to explore White trainee counselling psychologists' attitudes towards racial prejudice and their experiences of training in this area. The researcher will be conducting one to one interviews and a one off focus group with between four and five participants. The interviews will take place at a location convenient to you and the focus group will take place at Roehampton University – date and time to be arranged. It is necessary for volunteers to commit to both stages of data collection.

The researcher respects the sensitivity of this subject and your interview/focus group will be conducted respectfully in a non-judgmental manner. The researcher undertakes to behave professionally and ethically throughout the research process.

You will be asked two questions during a 30 minute semi-structured interview. Roughly between one and two months after this interview you will be invited to take part in a one-off focus group, where the point of discussion will be anything that may have been raised by the interview process and the same two questions addressed during the interview. The interview and focus group will be digitally recorded, and then transcribed with any identifying details removed. The transcript, or extracts from, may appear in the researcher's doctoral thesis and in publications arising from it. The recorded data may be heard by a supervisor and those who might be involved in examining the thesis.

Everything you say will be treated confidentially, but there is a limit to this: if you disclose a risk of serious harm to yourself or anyone else the researcher may need to take appropriate action in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the British Psychological Society. You are free to withdraw from the research at any point and where possible your data will be deleted and destroyed. However, your data may still appear in the final research write up if your request to withdraw is made after the data has been analysed.

Researcher Contact Details:

Sharon T O'Driscoll
Department of Psychology
Roehampton University
Whitelands College
Holybourne Avenue
London
SW15 4JD
Email: odriscos@roehampton.ac.uk
Tel: 07703 299177

Consent Statement:

I agree to take part in this research, and am aware that I am free to withdraw at any point. I understand that the information I provide will be treated in confidence by the investigator and that my identity will be protected in the publication of any findings.

Name

Signature

Date

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation or any other queries please raise this with the investigator. However if you would like to contact an independent party please contact the Head of Department (or if the researcher is a student you can also contact the Director of Studies.)

Director of Studies Contact Details:

Dr Paul Dickerson
Department of Psychology
Roehampton University
Whitelands College
Holybourne Avenue
London
SW15 4JD
Email: p.dickerson@roehampton.ac.uk
Tel: 020 8392 3613

Head of Department Contact Details:

Dr Diane Bray
Department of Psychology
Roehampton University
Whitelands College
Holybourne Avenue
London
SW15 4JD
Email: D.Bray@roehampton.ac.uk
Tel: 020 8392 3627

Appendix 4

PARTICIPANTS DEBRIEF

White Trainee Counselling Psychologists Attitudes Towards Racial Prejudice

Thank you very much for taking part in this study, your contribution is greatly appreciated.

This study aims to explore White trainee counselling psychologists' attitudes towards racial prejudice and their experiences of training in this area and your participation is extremely valuable.

Recent literature has identified the necessity for White therapists to acknowledge themselves as part of a race, become aware of their whiteness and to interrogate their own proclivity for prejudice. Many studies have addressed the training needs in this area and measured how levels of White awareness correspond with multicultural competence. However, there is very little qualitative research which actually examines how any of this training and subsequent self knowledge impacts upon therapists attitudes towards racial prejudice. In an effort to bridge this gap this study is providing a qualitative inquiry which will examine White trainee counselling psychologists' attitudes towards racial prejudice using a critical discourse analytical framework.

All data gathered during this study will be held securely and anonymously. If you wish to withdraw from the study, contact the researcher with your participant number (above) and where possible all data and documentation relating to you will be deleted or destroyed. However, please note that your data may still appear in the final research write up if your request to withdraw is made after the data is analysed.

If you are troubled or worried by any aspect of the study or any issues it may have raised, you are invited to discuss this with the researcher during this debrief process. If you feel this is not appropriate for you then therapeutic support may be sourced from www.bps.org.uk.

Should you have any concern about any aspect of your participation in this study, please raise it with the researcher in the first instance or with the Director of Studies or Head of Department.

Researcher

Sharon T O'Driscoll
Department of Psychology
Roehampton University
Whitelands College
Holybourne Avenue
London
SW15 4JD
Email: odriscos@roehampton.ac.uk
Tel: 07703 299177

Director of Studies

Dr Paul Dickerson
Department of Psychology
Roehampton University
Whitelands College
Holybourne Avenue
London
SW15 4JD
Email: p.dickerson@roehampton.ac.uk
Tel: 020 8392 3613

Head of Department

Dr Diane Bray
Department of Psychology
Roehampton University
Whitelands College
Holybourne Avenue
London
SW15 4JD
Email: D.Bray@roehampton.ac.uk
Tel: 020 8392 3627

Literature Which has Informed this Study

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Appendix 5

PARTICIPANTS CONFIRMATION OF HANDLING

White Trainee Counselling Psychologists Attitudes Towards Racial Prejudice

Please sign below to confirm that:

This research interview/focus group has been conducted professionally and ethically.

You have been informed of how the data will be treated and stored.

In the event of needing to explore issues that have arisen in the course of the interview/focus group you have established follow up points of contact.

Participant

Name.....

Signature.....

Date.....

Researcher

Name.....

Signature.....

Date.....

Appendix 6

Focus Group Script.

Hello again to you all and thank you for taking the time out to be part of the study again today. Just to remind you all that this study is investigating White trainee counselling psychologists experience of training and personal development in the area of racial difference and their experiences of working with clients who were racially different to themselves.

Introductions – I wasn't sure how you wanted to proceed with anonymity and if you would like to know each others first name? *If yes ask if they would like name badges.*

I will take this opportunity to ask that we all respect and preserve the confidentiality of others and that whatever is discussed here stays here once we leave, save for research purposes.

Consent Forms.

Before we begin would anybody like a comfort break? Water has been provided for everyone please help yourself to more if you would like it.

My intention is for the focus group to run for about 45 minutes spending roughly 15 minutes on each area. Does anybody have to leave at any specific time? *If yes ask participant to leave as quietly as possible when that time comes if the focus group has not ended.* I will only facilitate when completely necessary and I will prompt you to move on to the next question if and when required. Do you all have your copy of the questions to be discussed?

Does anybody have any questions?

Conclusion

Thanks again to everybody for taking part, it is much appreciated. If I can just recap about the need for confidentiality.

Does anyone have any questions?

Debrief including confirmation of handling and points of contact if any issues raised.

Farewells.

Appendix 7

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

White Trainee Counselling Psychologists Attitudes Towards Racial Prejudice

- 1. Please discuss your experience of the interview process and any effects which may have followed.**

- 2. Please discuss your experience of training and personal development in the area of racial difference?**

- 3. Please discuss any of your experiences of working with clients' who were racially different to yourself?**

Appendix 8

Ethics Application Ref: PSYC 11/ 015

Wednesday, 1 June, 2011 13:13

"Jan.Harrison@roehampton.ac.uk" <Jan.Harrison@roehampton.ac.uk>

[Add sender to Contacts](#)

From:

shabz713@btinternet.com, odriscos@roehampton.ac.uk

To:

P.Dickerson@roehampton.ac.uk, L.Slade@roehampton.ac.uk, D.Bray@roehampton.ac.uk

Cc:

Dear Sharon,

Ethics Application

Applicant: Sharon O'Driscoll

Title: White Trainee Counselling Psychologists Attitudes Towards Racial Prejudice

Reference: PSYC 11/ 015

Department: Psychology

Many thanks for your sending the amended documents for your application. I am pleased to confirm that all conditions for approval of this project have now been met. We do not require anything further in relation to this application.

Many thanks,

Jan

Jan Harrison
Ethics Administrator
Research and Business Development Office
208 Grove House, Froebel College
Roehampton University
Roehampton Lane
London SW15 5PJ

T: +44 (0) 20 8392 5785

E: Jan.Harrison@roehampton.ac.uk

Appendix 9

Additional Methodological Considerations

Heuristic Research

Further exploration led me to consider heuristic research as a method of data analysis (Moustakas, 1990). This method allows for the researcher's ongoing personal experience of the phenomenon under investigation to become part of the analysis. "All heuristic inquiry begins with the internal search to discover, with an encompassing puzzlement, a passionate desire to know, a devotion and commitment to pursue a question that is strongly connected to one's own identity and selfhood" (*ibid*, p. 40). Generally, however, this question has additional social, if not universal, importance; this is certainly the case when considering racial prejudice within the field of counselling psychology.

Moustakas (1990, p. 40) draws on Polanyi (1969) to describe how matters may lend themselves to heuristic inquiry; "To see a problem is to see something hidden that may yet be accessible....It is an engrossing possession of incipient knowledge which passionately strives to validate itself. Such is the heuristic power of a problem" (pp. 131-132). The researcher believed that her training experiences had provided her with a better understanding of being White in a multiracial world, and an awareness of the impact of how one is positioned in relation to racial prejudice. The vital question that arose was: had the same happened to other White British trainees, and thus whether understanding or lack of it manifests itself in their cross-racial therapeutic work? The idea that this knowledge might be hidden yet accessible seemed to be suggestive.

However, as I read more deeply, the phenomenological basis for heuristic analysis began to pose similar questions to those which arose in the earlier consideration of phenomenological methods. As White people, the public ownership of one's racial prejudices is uncommon. Through my continued engagement with a deep introspective process, I was becoming somewhat habituated to my own prejudices. This was distorting my perception of how revealing other trainees in their role as co-researchers would be about themselves.

In addition, possible results of such a study would do little to illuminate how one's introspective processes are influenced by the wider social and political context and, in turn, how these frameworks influence the subject positions occupied by the trainees in relation to issues of 'race' and 'culture', with their enabling and constraining properties. To investigate

racial prejudice within counselling psychology training, an alternative method of inquiry was required.

Psychology and Postmodernism

Kvale (1992) illustrates how postmodern ideas have conceptually challenged the social sciences, and examines the potential development of what he terms as 'postmodern psychology' and questions whether postmodernism even has a place for psychology. He contends that psychology is a subject born of the Enlightenment, founded on positivistic principles, which seeks to make known the relationship between the individual/particular and the universal. Conversely, Kvale argues that postmodernism rejects positivistic assumptions in favour of "a conception of knowledge as open, perspectival and ambiguous" (*ibid*, p. 45). However, Kvale does note the advancement of 'deconstructive social psychology' as adopted by social psychologists Potter and Wetherell. He also presents a strong argument for the inclusion of applied psychological practice as relevant to postmodern thought.

Kvale (1992) presents details of an investigation by Schon (1983) which examined "practitioner's knowledge" (p. 50). Schon argues that the theoretical knowledge taught at universities is 'scientific' and 'standardised' (p. 14). He believes that this knowledge is completely dichotomous to the far more tacit, complex and ambiguous information professionals engage with when they are in practice. Kvale (*ibid*), incorporating ideas from Schon, suggests that "The practitioner's 'knowing-in-action' does not rest upon the clear-cut logical categories of a technical rationality, nor need it be explicitly verbalised. Every competent practitioner 'makes innumerable judgments of quality for which he cannot state adequate criteria, and he displays skills for which he cannot state the rules and procedures. Even when he makes conscious use of research-based theories and techniques, he is dependent on tacit recognitions, judgments and skilful performance'" (1983, p. 50).

This notion of professional knowledge without any clear foundation, which is devoid of a stable rational basis, arguably reflects a postmodernist perspective, and appropriately positions the practice of counselling psychology as relevant in a postmodern age. The co-creation of understanding, associated with clinical practice and qualitative research, underpinned by counselling psychology's commitment to pluralism, illustrate the discipline's break with modernity. "Postmodern thought here appears as a relevant context for the theoretical explication and development of practical knowledge in the psychological professions. This does not imply a practice devoid of theory, but involves a shift in the focus

of theorizing in psychology – from the interior of the individual to its relation to society” (Kvale, 1992, p. 51). I realised that deconstructive social psychology is a method of inquiry which privileges the search for plurality which is also adopted by the field of counselling psychology.

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Appendix 10

00:00	<p><i>So can you recall your experience of training and personal development in the area of racial difference (.) whilst on the PsychD course?</i></p> <p>Umm to be honest (1.5) I <u>can</u> (.) very vaguely but it was umm (0.8) very err (.) small part of our training (.) (<i>mhmm</i>) umm (.) I guess I can excuse it in one way (.) because we work from a kind of existential phenomenological paradigm (.) which is to say that we're (.) the first part of our training is to bracket off our preconceptions and our prejudices when we approach any kind of (.) um phenomena or person (.) indeed umm having said that there was a section that was supposed to be given us in our second year (.) that they screwed up and we ended up with 5 weeks of social issues and 5 weeks of umm (1.0) something else I think cultural (.) cultural concerns umm (1.5) which were kind of inadequate (.) (<i>mhmm</i>) in my view</p> <p><i>Okay (.) so umm (.) did you get any training elsewhere sort of from placements or anything like that?</i></p> <p>No (1.0) No I- I've worked here (.) um which again kind of works from an existential phenomenological paradigm which I think (.) personally deals with discrimination (.) implicitly anyway (<i>okay</i>) by default (.) almost um I would say that</p> <p>Umm I worked in **** and **** ummm in the **** unit and there was no training about (.) obviously there was the usual NHS bumph about equal opportunities (<i>okay</i>) and so forth um but no actual kind of direct training on dealing with sort of cross cultural issues (<i>okay</i>)</p> <p><i>And umm (1.0) you say that your approach (.) sort of comes from a perspective where (1.5) you bracket your judgements and preconceptions etcetera (.) how would you say that you identified or learned to identify (.) what your judgements or preconceptions were?</i></p> <p>Umm (.) coming face to face with my clients</p> <p><i>Okay so it's <u>on the job</u> learning?</i></p> <p>In the encounter (.) (<i>mm</i>) yeah it was definitely on the job learning (.) umm I didn't feel that my training prepared me for it (.) in that way apart from the philosophical approach that we take (.) (<i>mhmm</i>) which obviously is something in the abstract when you talk about it and you read about it (.) it's something very different when you actually come face to face with another human being (.) (<i>yeah</i>) that you're hoping to understand and help</p>

<p>05:00</p>	<p><i>Okay (.) and so (.) when you had instances where you found yourself in the room (.) in a manner that you may not of expected or-or have just recognised (.) how did you deal with those situations?</i></p> <p>Umm (coughs) (.) I suppose umm (.) again it's something to do with my approach but it was a kind of curiosity (.) umm really to ask (.) really to ask questions (.) umm to not assume that (.) I knew something about umm I guess (.) one particular client I can think of was from Ghana (0.6) umm (1.0) and there were all sorts of kind of assumptions I found myself making (.) in speaking to her (<i>okay</i>) but actually she constantly surprised me when I asked questions I realised that my theory (.) that I had (.) kind of in my mind about who she might be and what it might mean to come from somewhere like Ghana was blown out of the water by what she actually told me (.) (<i>okay</i>) yeah</p> <p><i>So did you ever have sort of time to air (1.0) did you maybe (.) I don't know-Did you get support outside such as in supervision or anything like that? Did you ever feel the need to?</i></p> <p>Umm it's not an issue I don't think race issues umm (.) are anything that were kind of brought to (1.5) supervision but then having said that (.) I can think of umm (.) when there was a few times in supervision <u>here</u> actually (.) where we spoke about kind of Greek men (.) and the culture of Greek men (.) (<i>mm</i>) and there was an assumption was made (.) around the room between all of us (.) none of whom are Greek or know of any Greek people (.) and just thinking of that instance now and actually how unhelpful that might have been for the therapeutic process (.) (<i>mm</i>) umm but at the same time there is always a tacit assumption that we understand another culture (.) and unless you really unpack that (.) and really look at it then (0.7) umm (.) yeah it can actually influence (.) how you approach a client (.) (<i>yeah</i>) how you approach um (.) a session</p> <p><i>So the stereotypes that are common in our discourse make themselves available to all of us whatever?</i></p> <p>Yeah I'm just thinking of that particular instance which was (.) to say that you know it was all (.) that kind of macho and all the rest of it (.) umm (1.0) relative to how a client had been presented (.) but actually now that I am thinking about it (0.6) that wasn't really born out by any evidence</p> <p><i>Yeah (.) yeah so it became umm (.) a stereotypical theory (right taken from ether) (laughs) yeah okay okay</i></p> <p><i>So (0.5) in terms of training(.) you would say that it was poor and you were kind of left to learn on the job?</i></p>
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<p>I would say that (0.5) whilst I would defend my course and the approach for all sorts of things (.) I would say that (.) there was a lack (.) in addressing cultural issues</p> <p><i>If it could have been done differently was there anything you would have particularly liked to have seen done differently?</i></p> <p>Ummm (2.0) I think an interesting way to deal with things like that is (.) kind of through practical (.) interventions rather than sitting and talking about it in a very kind of White middle class way (0.5) you know “we are all very liberal and we’re all kind of therapists” and you know “as such of course we are not racist we don’t hold any kind of (.) umm preconceptions because we are all so existential and we’re bracketing all our preconceptions” (.) (<i>okay</i>) umm (.) then it might be really interesting to actually (.) in some way involve ourselves in a practical exercise to really (.) umm (.) draw out some of those preconceptions (<i>mm</i>) because I think they are always there</p> <p>I remember (.) you know sitting with (0.5) that client from Ghana being really surprised and thinking “oh my god that is how I actually think about (0.5) Black people-African people” (<i>okay</i>) umm (.) where I wouldn’t actually have known that concept was there (.) I would have assumed that I would have been very defended against the idea that I might be in some way (0.5) biased or (.) I guess racist is a very loaded word that I don’t really want to use but certainly ignorant (0.5) (<i>mhmm</i>) and that that ignorance might in some way inform my practice (0.5) (<i>yeah</i>) and affect it</p> <p><i>So you would have liked rather than on the job learning a bit more (0.7) on the job training?</i></p> <p>On the job training okay this is what you need to be mindful of (.) not just that you need to be mindful of this this and this issue (.) in abstract but actually (.) here’s a sample of (.) what you may not realise you are thinking</p> <p><i>Yeah(.) yeah (.) so yeah just a few pointers that you could then (.) maybe</i></p> <p>Something experiential something practical that we could be involved in (.) (<i>yeah</i>) because I think there is something about that type of ignorance that really kind of conceals itself (.) (<i>mmm</i>) away (.) (<i>yeah</i>) we think we know but we don’t know</p> <p><i>Absolutely (1.0) okay umm and can you recall then any of your experiences of working with clients who are racially different to yourself?</i></p> <p>As I say that um (.) client from Ghana (0.5) (<i>mhmm</i>) umm (0.5) was very different to myself (0.5) umm came from a <u>huge</u> family (.) religious a completely different way of being um (.) I’m trying to think of instances (1.0) I have er er an Iranian (0.5) that I see (0.5) umm (0.7) which is quite a complex (.) case (.) actually (.) (<i>mhmm</i>) umm (1.0) yeah</p>

<p>10:00</p>	<p>that again was on job learning (0.5) about what it means to be Iranian (0.5) as a gay man actually (<i>okay</i>) mm</p> <p><i>So is that in terms (.) again did you have um assumptions about what it was to be (.) sort of an Iranian man and grow up in <u>that</u> culture?</i></p> <p>Yeah (.) that in the absence of any real knowledge about what that meant (.) I kind of filled in the gaps (.) and I had to ask quite a lot of questions (0.5) Umm (1.0) then again I think that curiosity is the best (.) the best tool (.) in a situation like that is to be very kind of open and ask (.) and not assume that you should know (.) because I think there's something on the part of us as therapists that (.) and perhaps its implicit on how the client (.) er views us as well that we should know these things (.) (<i>mm</i>) because we are professionals we're experts we're (.) (<i>mhmm</i>) you know (.) that even to assume that somebody's experience within a culture or the cultural influences are the <u>same</u> from person to person (.) because they are obviously gonna have their own shade and their own colour (.) (<i>mm</i>) and their own kind of interpretation via that person</p> <p><i>Yeah, yeah (.) So umm (0.5) I would imagine there that there was some intersectionality then because it wouldn't have just been about (.) the race it would have been that intersection of that particular race that culture (.) that sexuality(.) so all of those things would have been coming together?</i></p> <p>And that (0.5) particularly within that culture (.) um its got the highest (.) rate of sex change operations for (.) gay men or just sex change operations male to female because (.) male sexuality is forbidden (.) (<i>okay</i>) especially within the lower (.) kind of what we would call working classes (.) so that umm (coughs) it's preferable (.) for people to change gender rather than to live as homosexuals (.) unless you are very wealthy (.) which is something I didn't know</p> <p><i>Okay so this was all stuff that you learnt from him (.) (mm) as your client?</i></p> <p>Yeah and-and from doing a little bit of research outside of it (.) I had to do-I had to do a little bit of um (.) thinking on my feet</p> <p><i>How did it make you feel when um (.) you have got this client in front of you that (.) seemingly on the surface you have a lot of similarities with (.) but then you suddenly find you know so little about?</i></p> <p>I had a translator (.) as well so it was quite umm (0.5) quite a challenge (.) but in the same token I feel like (.) that there's a kind of way of making a connection beyond those things and if you can make <u>that</u> connection with the client (.) then the rest (.) is easy-err easier (.) then you can ask the questions-there is trust there and a kind of bond there (coughs) you can ask questions without coming across as clinical or evasive (.) or</p>
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	<p>ignorant (.) (<i>mhmm</i>) or any of those kinds of things-if it's a genuine curiosity rather than born out of a place out of anxiety (.) then (0.5) there's room for dialogue</p> <p><i>Okay (.) that sounds really helpful</i></p> <p><i>Okay (.) is there anyone else that you can think of? That comes to mind when I ask that question?</i></p> <p>Well there was that Greek umm (0.5) my Greek client (.) I'm thinking that with him (.) there was a real assumption on my part maybe one that should have been unpacked (.) looking back on what it meant to be a Greek man—that is something I have no idea about looking back-I still don't (.) having been to Greece not that long ago and I still don't know what that really means (0.5) umm (.) and perhaps yeah I kind of assumed that (.) it was a macho (.) kind of machismo culture (.) and that men were men (.) and that there were no (.) no real diversions from that (.) and I wouldn't know actually if that was the case or not or even where that came from (<i>laughs</i>) thinking about it</p> <p><i>And did the client sort of give you an impression of himself in that way?</i></p> <p>No (<i>laughs</i>) not really (<i>laughs</i>) (.) (<i>laughs</i>) I don't know where that came from</p> <p><i>Did you therein find it maybe as an answer for some of his Neurosis?</i></p> <p>Yeah (.) (<i>okay, coming down</i>) yeah I think I attributed a lot of how he presented (.) a lot of his anxieties and a lot of his confidence issues (.) to his culture (.) without even asking (.) he was one of my-I think he was like my 3rd (0.5) ever client (<i>sure</i>)</p> <p><i>But it sounds as though that is something that you are now acutely aware of doing?</i></p> <p>Now (.) only today actually thinking back on it because I haven't really spent a lot of time thinking about that particular client (.) (<i>mhmm</i>) but yeah</p> <p><i>Okay (.) umm alright we don't need to draw this out I mean is there anything that you imagined yourself talking about that I haven't given you the opportunity to talk about</i></p> <p>Um in terms of training?</p> <p><i>in terms of anything anything that (.) you might have seen umbrella-ed under these questions</i></p> <p>Ummm (8.0) no but I think it's a-it's a kind of really kind of crucial part of training and I think that it doesn't really just apply to dealing with (.) different cultures but it also gives</p>
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	<p>you a perspective on your own (.) and that there is another danger (.) in assuming that people who share a culture (.) share a kind of world (.) which they don't necessarily our culture for me may be very different to our culture for you and when you look (0.5) at other cultures and you become aware in that way (.) that it can really inform (.) practice with similar cultures and not just different ones</p> <p><i>Yeah sure so there is like a (.) a macro and a micro culture that could just be you different to the guy next door</i></p> <p>Right (.) exactly (0.5) so I think its really crucial a really crucial area to look at (.) in training</p> <p><i>Brilliant (.)</i></p> <p><i>Okay thank you very much</i></p>
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Appendix 11

	Focus one
00:00	<p><i>When you are ready please begin</i></p> <p>Well ***** came over to my house and it was really nice to see her again because we umm did a placement at the same place last year (.) and umm ***** is nice so she was good company (.) so (.) I had a pleasant hour</p> <p>Similar I've never met ***** before but she came to the flat which is always nice (.) and (0.5) we talked for half an hour and I don't really (.) it was quite enjoyable (.) it was the sort-the sort of thing I had been thinking about anyway in terms of my research slightly so it was nice (.) to sort of talk <u>at</u> her for a bit (.) but other than that its quite a vague recollection really of what happened (laughs)</p> <p>Yes Similar (.) there was nothing (0.5) I think I enjoyed talking about my experience (.) but a bit like yourself there was nothing (.) that really sticks with me about what was said (0.5) and that maybe because I was the one doing most of the talking so I'm fully aware of my own thoughts and feelings about the topic (.) so I'm not surprised by any of it or haven't learnt anything more (.) from th-the interview</p> <p>Umm I felt yeah I-I similarly the interview was a pleasant experience umm (0.5) urr-ur-a ***** gave me a cup of tea which was very nice ur but umm yeah I-I cant I-I don't have any strong recollections of it I mean I, I, I sort of remember from it that I (0.5) weirdly I didn't have (0.5.) a great deal (0.8) to say in some ways umm (.) and-and on reflection that perhaps (.) I should have had more to say and umm and-so I kind of thought about it more afterwards (.) umm (0.5) but at the time yeah I-I feel like I didn't really have (.) that much to say in a funny sort of way (.) um even though I knew what the subject was</p> <p>After that I mean I did think about (.) "did I give the right answer?"</p> <p>Mmm</p> <p>"Should I have given different answers which were perhaps (.) more informed?" or (.) "did I dare I say it come across in any way as racist or you know (.) diminishing (0.5) the experience of (.) of different cultural groups because I hadn't had enough to say?"</p> <p>Mmm</p>

05.00	<p>Gosh (.) makes me sound like an arrogant cow (.) <i>(laughs)</i> I didn't feel at all that was I giving the right answer or should I (.) have (0.5) at all</p> <p>Have you ever taken part in (.) like other research-I'm wondering whether you felt that when you've done other things or whether you think its because it's this particular topic</p> <p>And because of the sensitivity of this particular topic (0.5) which made me think (.) "ooh" you know (.) and an awareness of (1.2) sometimes you know (.) not that I've ever had the experience but there is a sense of (.) God I don't want to offend anybody <i>(mm)</i> in the background of-of some of the things that I might say <i>(mm)</i></p> <p>Ac-Ac-Actually one thing-one thing I do remember (.) that I think sort of ties in to that slightly is (.) I mean I think (.) I think I felt slightly confused about (.) the subject I was being (0.5) asked about (.) I mean I (.) I kind of had a (0.6) I can remember talking about it in the (.) an-and not to sort of sideline the (.) err the current discussion at all but (.) but I can remember talking I think umm (.) and I don't know if this is right about (.) about (0.5) racial umm (1.0) racial prejudice and (.) all kind of different racial-different racial groups and different cultural groups (.) and different umm <u>ethnic</u> groups and the differences (.) between those things or whether there were differences (.) because I felt like kind of-I felt like (.) maybe (.) the (0.8) I-I felt like what I was being asked about was a bit ambiguous in some ways</p> <p>Mmm (0.5) and quite a loaded term 'race' <i>(yeah)</i> so it's not one (.) like I don't know race is a kind of a meaningless category (0.5) <i>(well that's kind of)</i> or is it?</p> <p>That's- that's sort of what I was thinking and-and (.) and I was thinking well do I really (.) recognise (.) race as a thing-you know if someone asked me (.) you know what race someone is I am not sure what I (.) I mean I could tell you what (.) race they might fit into according to someone else's categories <i>(mm)</i> but I'm not sure if its something I sort of (1.0) it's-it's rather like sex and gender (.) it's one of those kind of things (.) which is (.) we-we become kind of habituated to using (.) umm where as I-I'm not really sure that it makes (.) a great deal of sense where as it does-you know I-I think probably it makes better se nse to talk about (.) the culture that someone has (.) <i>(mm)(mm)</i> existed in <u>or</u> umm (.) you know ethnicity again I think (.) I'm not sure what that means really umm (.) yeah so those were some of the issues which came up actually as I remember it</p>
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	<p>Yeah but I (0.6) I think now you say that I remember having sort of asking (.) <i>(yeah)</i> similar questions (.) not so much of ***** but of myself <i>(yeah yeah)</i> and (.) but then again recognising that I think to say kind of oh well there's (.) you know I think its very easy for me as a kind of White middle class woman to say well race hasn't really had (.) that much meaning and it's not something I would use (.) but then I spose (0.5) somebody from what I would think was a different ethnic background different cultural background would go well people see me as Black (.) and that affects how they treat me (.) <i>(Yeah, and)</i> and they see something that they may see as (.) RACE so it-it's like <i>(No no I)</i> I don't think you can throw it out and I don't think you are saying <i>(No no I)</i> throw it out but I'm just saying it's all so chewy <i>(No no definitely)</i> and complicated</p> <p>It's very idiosyncratic because (.) you might have a Black individual who might say I don't want to be thought of as belonging to a particular race I'm British (.) and you'll have another individual who says I'm Black and I'm proud (.) <i>(Yeah) (Yeah)</i> you know so <u>really</u> for <u>me</u> (.) I mean you know maybe some of my context makes a difference I don't know (.) but for <u>me</u> (.) you know you find out from the individual how they think of themselves (0.8) <i>(mm mm) (yeah yeah)</i> and if they want to think of themselves very strongly identified with a certain group or religion <i>(mm)</i> or whatever fine cool <i>(mm mm)</i> you know it's like ok he's a man she is a women but if somebody says to me "well actually I am transgender" oh okay that's okay you know <i>(yeah) (yeah)</i> that's who <u>you</u> are</p> <p>So it's more about making assumptions if you make an assumption about somebody regarding <i>(mm)</i> be it sexuality or racial (0.5) difficulties (.) I mean that is where the prejudice comes (.) so its asking them</p> <p>I don't know that-I don't know that it's prejudice (.) I-I just think that (.) you know because if you see somebody walking down the street how would you know how they identify themselves (.) <i>(yeah) (mm)</i> you wouldn't so (.) it's very idiosyncratic and find out from the individual how they (.) wh-what they identify with (.) <i>(mm mm)</i> how they define themselves</p> <p>And it's (.) and-and I suppose it's interesting isn't it because it (.) it (.) it means in some way-I mean all of us sitting here (.) because we are here in some way we identify ourselves as racially White (0.5) because that was what was on the (.) profile of the (.) um research <i>(mm)</i> invitation and yet I suppose (.) I mean and this is what I think made me quite interested in the project (.) that I mean (0.5) I think probably (.) I would be identified as White racially but I don't really (.) <i>(mm)</i> I don't really think of myself as (.)</p>
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10.00	<p>a White person (<i>mm</i>) per se (.) maybe other people do but I don't-I don't wonder around thinking (.) being White is part of my identity (.) (<i>no</i>) I think being <u>English</u> is part of my identity I think probably being male is part of my identity actually but I don't really think (.) (<i>white</i>) whiteness is</p> <p>And isn't (.) (<i>inaudible</i>) sorry I was going to say isn't that part of being part of the (.) um the sort of dominant group is that it isn't a part of our identity it's-it's (.) (<i>maybe</i>) It's-I mean I know there has been a lot written about that that you become the norm (.) (<i>yeah</i>) and people identify themselves in relation to <u>you</u> and so you can (.) you being one sorry not you (laughs) (<i>yeah-yeah-yeah</i>) but you know so that (0.8) for me (0.5) that isn't a part of my identity as similar to you- you know being a woman is (<i>yeah</i>) an-an-and kind of other things umm (.) but maybe that's because it it's (<i>inaudible</i>)</p> <p>Yes I see what you mean so (.) so actually (.) I don't know if I lived in a (.) small community (.) of quite lets say diverse European and North American White people in a country where (.) the predominant (.) ethnicity shall we say (.) was African or Chinese (<i>mm</i>) so then I might think of myself as White more</p> <p>As part of the context</p> <p>Yeah</p> <p>Yeah, I think that's a good point</p> <p>I think it's the argument behind (<i>yeah</i>) that line (.) yeah</p> <p>One thing that was interesting that I talked to ***** about is we had a lecture (.) umm (.) from this Black woman um and she'd come into the lecture looking for an argument (.) because she had expected (.) a bunch of White middle class women frankly (.) umm and it was so interesting that you know actually what she got (.) umm (.) the group-the group was very diverse anyway there were a lot of Asian people Black people it was quite sprinkled with different sorts of people (.) umm and (.) you know she asked everybody to identify their ethnicity (.) and so what you were hearing from somebody who looked White was (.) "well actually I've got a Cherokee great-great grandmother in the 1830s" and (.) you know "my family are from Germany" and you know wherever wherever and wherever and (.) you know "my family are mixed Maori" and (laughing) (.) you know (.) and she really didn't know what to do with this because (.) all these-a lot of these people looked White but actually (0.6) (<i>mm</i>) there was-there were a lot of elements to who (.) they were</p>
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	<p>White isn't such a homogeneous (.) category</p> <p>No</p> <p>But also it's about an experience of White people experiencing racism as well (1.0) perhaps you know assuming that because we all look White that that's actually (.) where we are from</p> <p>Yeah (.) or who you are</p> <p>So it can work both ways</p> <p>Yeah (.) yes so she was-she was expecting-she was making assumptions based on (.) the way that people looked is that what you are saying?</p> <p>Yeah she was (.) umm and you know she was terribly surprised (<i>yeah</i>) when actually (.) um but <u>also</u> it was very interesting to hear (.) the um different mix that each person has in their blood line (.) (<i>mm</i>) um and you know they were quite pleased with each part of themselves (<i>Yeah yeah (.) yeah</i>)</p> <p>And in fact (.) um one sort of women who (.) umm (.) slightly outside the context of the lecture but who umm (.) talked mostly about experiencing</p> <p>This was the same lecture was it?</p> <p>No it wasn't</p> <p>No it wasn't</p> <p>but you were both in that lecture?</p> <p>I wasn't in the lecture but (.) I'm kind of (<i>yeah</i>) mixing it up with another one</p> <p>Same university (.) but a year apart I think</p> <p>Yeah (.) but I'm just thinking of (.) after this years lecture in which there wasn't quite (.) other interesting things happened in the lecture (.) in which umm (.) someone who talked most about discrimination was somebody who (.) I guess the assumption would be was that she was White and she was White British (.) (<i>mm</i>) but in fact (.) um (0.5) her sort of ethnic</p>
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	<p>heritage was-was different to that and she was very vocal about (.) um how unhappy she'd been and how she had experienced discrimination (.) so it's not the same lecture or the same experience but (.) I guess I'm just trying to kind of find another example of it being (.) (mm) more complex then it seems at first (yeah sure) (yeah)</p> <p>It's interesting as well because I mean I'm (.) I mean my (1.0) my very limited experience of kind of being (.) in a minority I would say (.) it-it has felt different-I mean what you said **** was making me think about that but (.) it is quite interesting how (0.6) these classifications are quite (.) well black and white for want of a better way of describing and I'm sort of reminded of how (.) in the Chinese language for example there is (.) there is essentially one word for foreigner (.) (mm) that acknowledges Chinese and other essentially (.) so it's-it's interesting that we (.) think about things in terms of black and white because its not that far away really</p> <p>Mm (0.8) especially when you think about the multiple (.) you know the way the world is just mixing and different (.) (yeah) races are all just living together so it's going to become more and more common that you get people from a mixed (.) ethnic background (.) (yeah I think that's, yeah) and there is a sense of pride about that as well (.) (mm) um which I think is definitely a social shift (.) (mm) you know thinking to my grandmothers time (.) she was part Indian and that was a massive sense of shame (.) whereas actually for <u>my</u> generation its quite a big pride element (.) (mm) (yeah) you know I know where I come from and it's different and interesting and dare I say it a little bit exotic (.) (mm) um so there has been a shift I think in (0.5) peoples attitudes towards race</p> <p>Mmm (1.0) yeah (1.0) and I kinda-I mean I know it's sort of part of the next thing really (.) I mean (.) with all that (.) I mean I wonder if there's a (0.8) the very idea of (.) kind of incorporating into the training some (.) um something about (.) kind of you know (.) how do you (.) deal with people of different (.) racial background or ethnic background I mean is that quite a (1.0) I wonder if that's taught in quiet a (0.5) a sort of (.) western white centric model-the very idea of (.) teaching other people about that (.) I mean or is it (.) I mean I don't know what other peoples experiences are-I mean we haven't received</p> <p>We haven't received anything</p> <p>We haven't received anything (.) we haven't <u>really</u> had much at all</p> <p>I'm wondering if that's why (.) because how can you</p>
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15:00

Well the woman who came in to give the lecture when I was there (.)
 (yeah) it was exactly the opposite (.) you know as I say (.) we all of us (.)
 (yeah) you know Black White or otherwise had felt she had come into the
 room looking for an argument (.) (yeah) you know she had come in
 wanting or expecting to see a bunch of White racist women (.) (yeah yeah)
 umm or something (.) or at the very least people who were incredibly
 patronising (.) (yeah) and you know instead (.) and that's why I say it-it just
 took the wind out of her sails and she didn't know what to do (.) (yeah)
 really because (.) um she (.) you know what she got was a very diverse
 group who were all friends with each other (.) (yeah) you know (.) um (.)
 and (.) so (.) I'm not-I'm not so sure there was a darn thing she could have
 taught us (.) frankly

Yeah

The thing is (.) is that at other university I had a lecture given by a Black
 woman (.) who (.) was really very very good and I don't remember her
 name unfortunately but she was very good at it because (.) you know what
 she did was she made the point of (.) you know this is all very individual
 and idiosyncratic and don't make assumptions about people (.) and you
 know she said for example "my sister in law voted for Bush (.) don't
 assume all Black people voted for Obama" (.) (mm) "why would you
 assume that" you know (.) um and you know her lecture was actually very
 useful and you know she didn't come in with a chip

Mmm (.) so there is something there isn't there I think from what
both of you have said about (.) and please (.) correct me if I'm-if I'm
 not quite getting it (.) that actually the way to teach about race and
 racial prejudice and discrimination (.) is to try and open up peoples
 ideas (.) to not thinking about people in boxes (.)

Yeah yeah I guess yeah I mean I guess so because I was thinking that
 probably the worst way you could do it would be to (.) sort of say
 well you know "if you were dealing with someone from a (.) South
 Asian background then they are most likely to have-to have you
 know problems in" (Mmm) you know "don't address religion" or
 something (.) and that's seems to me to be something (.) you know
 that would be a bad way to teach it particularly in the (.) in the field
 of counselling psychology which has (.) well I suppose it's quite kind
 of embedded in (.) where ever you are training quite a sort of
 humanistic and (.) you know (.) to do with individual experience
 (Mmm, Mmm) um so yeah (.) yeah I agree

	<p>But I mean I am just thinking of my own experience whilst training last year I was working with a lady who (.) umm was from a very different (.) ethnic and racial background (.) and so I assumed sort of a naïve position (.) and particularly about um religion because she was Muslim but she was dressed in western clothes (.) and part of it was to see how much of it was her identity and when I sat there and asked her a question you know (.) along the lines of (.) “could you describe what it means to be a Muslim women?” (.) she looked at me as if I was completely stupid (.) So I wonder if there is a sense that people <u>do</u> expect you to come (.) especially if they see you in an <u>expert</u> role (.) with some understanding of who they are</p> <p>Hmmm (.) (<i>mm</i>) how on earth would you know what her experience was as a Muslim woman? (<i>yeah</i>)</p> <p>That was my position</p> <p>Umm (.) (<i>exactly</i>) even if you were a Muslim yourself (.) (<i>yeah</i>) (<i>exactly</i>) lets say you were dressed - she was dressed in traditional clothes and you weren't (.) how would you know what her experience was I mean – I mean (1.0) um in a way that-that perhaps isn't a fair question from the client</p> <p>Mmm</p> <p>It kind of - I mean it-it-it touches on something which (.) which I remember in the initial interview I sort of began to think about (.) about my own experience I kind of (.) I thought that (.) you know is it naïve of me to think (1.0) that (.) I shouldn't in a way use any (1.0) I suppose umm (.) kind of <u>group</u> evidence of the way that people behave or (.) you know and-and-and that I should assume (.) that everyone (.) is going to be utterly individual (.) um and to approach them in that way because that is the sort of way I feel like I want too (.) um I want to approach clients or you know people I come into contact with in this situation (.) umm (.) and it's kind of the way that I think (.) I hope (.) I do - but maybe that's just naïve (.) maybe I am being (.) you know maybe I <u>do</u> need to think about (.) umm you know patterns of the way that people behave or</p> <p>Well (.) but can you make any (.) you know generalisations (<i>well</i>) about patterns of any culture in some ways I mean (.) you know (.) I think it's helpful if you have some knowledge perhaps of their area (.)</p>
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20:00	<p>(<i>yeah</i>) knowledge of their Country (.) um (.) in some way (.) So you know I had an Ethiopian client (<i>yeah</i>) an alcoholic (.) (<i>yeah</i>) umm and I asked him if he was religious because I <u>know</u> that a lot of Ethiopians are Coptic Christians (.) (<i>yeah</i>) umm and are quite religious people (.) (<i>yeah</i>) and his response was “oh yes” you know “and I haven’t been going to church lately because I’ve been drinking and I’m ashamed (.) but I really would like to get better in touch with my community again over here and go back to church” and so that was a huge strength to build on wasn’t it (.) (<i>mm</i>) um (.) and so you know but I didn’t (.) you know I tried to put the questions in such a way to not <u>assume</u> that he was religious (.) but I used my knowledge of that</p> <p>Yeah (.) no I see exactly what you mean (.) I mean but then I wonder you know does any knowledge (1.0) about (.) what you know a group or you know what happens in Ethiopia or what happens anywhere else or in <u>England</u> or in Wales or anything (.) you know does that (1.0) are we are we just (.) are we necessarily prejudiced I mean I kind of think we (.) we probably are. You know we try and (.) we try and (.) approach people individually but we all <u>know</u> things (.) or we all think things about (.) different groups of people because of what we have experienced and because of what we have been taught and (.) is it naïve to think those aren’t in some way playing a part (.) even if we would like them not to or we don’t sort of feel that in a (.) attentive or conscious way</p> <p>But that’s <u>useful</u> information</p> <p>It-It is</p> <p>it’s not prejudiced information</p> <p>well (.) well maybe it’s useful or maybe it’s not</p> <p>Well isn’t that where being a reflective practitioner comes in (1.0) (<i>mm</i>) so it’s “are you aware of this (.) (<i>mm</i>) are you considering what you are bringing into the room” (<i>well that’s the-that’s the yeah</i>) and that’s what balances so if we’re saying okay if you read some anthropology about the cultural background of (.) of a client or you go in and your-you’re aware that you approach (1.5) the MIND in a Western individualised way but that a client (.) comes from a very different culture in which they take a more sort of communal approach to these things and you go oh “okay well the scientific practitioner in me is gonna (.) umm (.) you know maybe do some</p>
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	<p>reading around this and maybe see what have people done what have people found what people have said about this culture” and I'm not-not necessarily saying observers from our own culture <i>(yeah, yeah, yeah)</i> you know and then you balance that with the kind of (.) the humanistic “and you are your own individual and I'm not making any assumptions but I <u>do</u> have this knowledge in case it comes in useful” (.) <i>(yeah yeah)</i> and then I guess the third thing is the “and I am aware that I am also (.) bringing my own assumptions that when I see someone wearing a <u>hijab</u> I think da, da, da, da”</p> <p>Yeah well I think that third thing is the (.) is the crucial thing really isn't it it's that (.) I mean (.) yeah coz I think (.) I think we all have however much we'd like to we all have (.) prejudices (0.6) <i>(mm) (mm) (mm)</i> um (.) you know</p> <p>But also I mean I'm sorry but I'm just thinking about going on a slight tangent here **** before I loose my train of thought (.) <i>(yeah)</i> um (0.8) prejudice we all assume-I mean the way we are all talking here (.) there is very much a sense of how we differ (.) but ultimately there is a huge amount of how we're similar (.) so sort of keeping those in mind you know (.) we're humans at the end of the day we all have similar emotional experiences admittedly they may-they maybe triggered by different things (.) so to walk into a room assuming somebody's (0.6) far more different than perhaps <i>(mm mm)</i> you yourself are (.) because they're from a different race or a different ethic group (.) or they have grown up in a different country but they have been living here for 10years maybe doing them a disservice as well (.) and that may be a form of prejudice (.) making an assumption that they're different <i>(mm)</i></p> <p>Well yeah yeah definitely (.) I agree with that umm (.) yeah (1.5) but I do think that's an important point that-that idea of (0.7) awareness of self (.) um (.) because I think (1.0) I think that doesn't ignore (.) or it doesn't try and (0.5) brush under the carpet (.) this (.) I think what is quite (.) an uncomfortable idea but one I think is probably (.) present (.) this (.) this idea that <u>we</u> are prejudiced (.) <i>(mm)</i> we do have ideas (.) um that are irrational</p> <p>But sometimes they are not irrational (1.0) <i>(sometimes they are not yeah)</i> you know if I get on a train (.) <i>(yeah)</i> and it's late at night and there is nobody else in the car and suddenly (.) a bunch of young boys get on the train and they're behaving in a menacing way now (.) I don't assume yes they are going to come and attack me but I'm on my guard (.) <i>(um)</i> you know (.) <i>(um)</i> um frankly that's sensible (.) <i>(yeah)</i> you know just to keep an</p>
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25:00	<p>eye on are just having fun (.) just fooling around or are they looking for something to cause trouble with (.) (yeah) um (.) so prejudice maybe but (.) actually it doesn't matter if they are Black or White (.) umm it's that they're (.) young men who may be looking for someone to rob (.) who is vulnerable (.) and I represent a vulnerable person (.) in that situation (.) so okay prejudice but tough beans (laughs) I want to get off the train in one piece (.) (yeah) so it makes sense</p> <p>you know you walk down the street perhaps again late at night (.) um I often carry my keys in-between my fingers (.) (mm) um you know again (.) umm it's not a matter of Black White or who's on the street (.) but just (.) you know I want to be vigilant because (.) I represent a vulnerable person (.) and I want to get home (um) so and I also don't subscribe to (.) umm now what is that horrible woman's name in America? The brown eyes blue eyes experiment women (1.0) (mm) (what's that?) you never heard of this cow? (no) Oh she's dreadful (.) um there was a film that was done in the early 1960s she was a teacher and she devised an experiment (.) called the blue eyes brown eyes experiment (.) (mm) and what she did was she took these little kids I think they were all about 8 (.) um and divided them into blue eyes and brown eyes (.) and you know today the brown eyes are the important people in the class and you know you blue eyed people are terrible (.) and the thing that was so awful about it really was that in this film you could see a lot of the children getting <u>extraordinarily</u> upset (.) one little kid was like about to have a break down and she didn't even notice (.) you know it was-it was <u>awful</u> (.) um but you know this was-this was big news in the 60s and (.) you know a teacher kind of did that to us for like half an hour when I was about 11 (.) and it made the point (.) when the teacher did it in my school it made the point but (.) you know it wasn't a sufficient amount of time to distress anybody (right) when she did that (.) it was for days at a time (.) um and the thing is since she has gone of to form a <u>massive</u> corporation (.) where she goes round to companies (.) um and does this to people and she doesn't do debriefing (.) she doesn't (.) umm send people on for counselling if they need it (.) um you know it's <u>really</u> serious and unethical she is not a psychologist (.) she is no longer a teacher there is no governing body that overseas her work (.) and the thing is that her premise is (.) we are <u>all</u> prejudiced (.) all White people-she's White (.) all White people are flawed and prejudiced and horrible (1.0) and it's like no excuse me (laughs) you know because again (.) that's making an assumption about an individual</p> <p>yeah</p> <p>a lot of assumptions about you or about me or you know (yeah) and I don't</p>
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	<p>subscribe to that (.) I don't think that's true</p> <p>I hadn't realised that her point was about all White people I thought it was about all people (.) <i>(yeah it's interesting)</i> I haven't read that that's really interesting</p> <p>Well yeah her point is about White people (.) <i>(yeah)</i> that's you know</p> <p>Which is kind of (.) racist (0.7) in my opinion (.) <i>(yeah)</i> to assume that about White people (.) and not other people coz its saying so White people are (.) are sort of inherently different to everyone else</p> <p>Yeah or something (.) and you know of course the other thing that it's doing is that you know it's ascribing (.) um (.) you know racial attributes you will be a prejudice person coz you're born White (.) <i>(mm)</i> um you know which again is against my personal philosophy entirely (.) um you know</p> <p>But doesn't that also come back to what ***** said about how if you are the dominant (.) um ethnic group within any country (.) that you are more likely to (0.7) as a group to be the racial group and I wonder if you went to Africa or South America (.) if the racist groups would have changed so is it (.) the native people so the Black people or the Hispanic people that become the racists against the minority (.) White British?</p> <p>I think there are-I mean there are plenty of people who are (.) I don't think it takes a (.) to be a majority to (.) to be racist <i>(mm)</i> I mean there are plenty of (.) I mean I (.) you know I-I could (.) you know I'm not going to go into personal anecdotes but I mean I'm sure there is plenty of evidence to suggest that (.) many many people in minorities are racist particularly against other minorities (.) umm</p> <p>Well they may be but that's because they as individuals are racist people (0.5) not because (.) all Muslims are racist again White people</p> <p>No of course yeah no that's not what I'm saying (.) but this idea that (.) that sort of prejudice is-is con-confined to one group I don't think is (.) is played out in (.) what happens really</p> <p>I was at a lecture yesterday evening it was an art lecture (.) and umm (.) it was the royal physicians-the royal college of physicians (.) and I hadn't realised (.) naively or ignorantly so but um (.) one of the physicians there said there is no biological reason that there is any difference in the races (.)</p>
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<p>30:00</p>	<p>so you know people say “oh we’re superior to you because we’ve got this and got that” (.) he said biologically there is no evidence to support that any one race is superior another</p> <p>True</p> <p>Yeah</p> <p>Well (.) there is-I mean there’s no real biological (.) sort of (.) clear division between races full stop (<i>exactly</i>) is there really I mean coz (0.5) yeah (.) its more of a descriptive thing</p> <p>Unless you are that guy at Harvard university</p> <p>Um (<i>Yeah</i>) <i>is</i> he guy who</p> <p>Was it called ‘The Bell Jar’ his book (.) (<i>yes</i>) (<i>I can’t remember</i>) yeah (.) and he was actually the head of the psychology department</p> <p>Yeah he was (.) (<i>I know</i>) was he the guy (.) was he the guy that was</p> <p>Wasn’t he a physicist originally though? (<i>I can’t remember</i>) Is this the guy who got a Nobel prize for physics (<i>yeah</i>) and then started talking about (.) umm IQ tests is this who we are on?</p> <p>Yeah (.) and he may have been a physicist originally</p> <p>“He was a physicist-nothing to do with psychology and training (.) but once you’ve got a noble prize you can do what you like</p> <p>Yeah (.) people listen to you unfortunately</p> <p>(laughing) yeah <u>scary</u> stuff though (.) <u>really</u> scary stuff and it was what only the weakest people would have become slaves (.) and so therefore</p> <p>and it was about the size of peoples craniums (.) (<i>yeah yeah</i>) and that kind of stuff</p> <p>Crazy Crazy stuff</p> <p>I mean mind you I suppose if you took a piece of DNA and you grew yourself a (.) cro magnum man in a lab um you could say that he would not be as intelligent as the rest of us (.) that’s probably true (.) (<i>mm</i>) umm</p>
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	<p>(laughs) but the guy who wrote 'The Bell Jar' was really off the wall</p> <p>Mm (2.0) yeah</p> <p>For when the tapes off I've got some good Noble Prize (.) winners being crazy people stories (general laughter)</p> <p>Oh good (.) excellent</p> <p>Nice use of the word crazy (.) as well (.) on a tape for a counselling psychology piece of research</p> <p>Yeah well it's a technical term isn't it</p> <p>Yeah it is (.) Yeah we haven't done crazy yet actually (.) (<i>we haven't</i>) we haven't covered that</p> <p>This is anonymous right? (laughs)</p> <p>Either that or you know (.) people who drive me nuts again another highly technical term</p> <p>Yeah (laughs)</p> <p>(laughs) (3.0) so so</p> <p>we segued nicely from (.) one thing</p> <p>yeah we did I think so I think so</p> <p>Shall we go to number 3?</p> <p>yeah</p> <p>I'm just wondering like I'm just trying to remember if we had any other training (.) or anything specifically</p> <p>We haven't had any (.) (<i>we've received no training</i>) I did notice that there is one (0.5) there's one series of lectures this year (<i>is there, on?</i>) I cant remember what it's called (.) um but it (.) it relates to this area</p> <p>We did now the year I was in the first year (<i>mm</i>) we did have a guy come in and talk about gay folks (.) (<i>yeah</i>) ok so we've had you know one lecture in gay folks</p>
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	<p>It almost feels very tokenistic (.) sort of “oh you know think about this and think about this or think about this”</p> <p>We’ve had age (.) did you have age?</p> <p>Yeah we had age</p> <p>We had age (.) (whispers) it was boring (.) we’ve had (.) sort of (.) cross cultural counselling but I’m not sure if that’s what the lecture was called or if that’s (.) the vocabulary she was using but that one (.) we’ve had someone come in and do LGBT (.) for about two and a half hours (mm) that’s that done</p> <p>Mmm (.) there is a sense of tick boxing isn’t there</p> <p>Yeah</p> <p>(general talking, inaudible)</p> <p>It would be nice if it was more integrated so for example (.) um segueing a little bit into the third question (.) (Mm yeah-yeah) I have currently got a client (.) who um (.) who has been diagnosed with PTSD (.) um he sure has the symptoms and he was horribly tortured (0.5) in his country (.) and (.) I have got to find a way to help this guy in 6-8 sessions (gasping) (0.5) wow um (.) and (.) you know the thing is that it would have been useful to me (.) if (.) you know there had been more focused discussion on okay you know I’ve got this guy who has had an experience (.) <u>completely</u> outside the realms of <u>usual</u> human experience (.) and I’m not sure how to approach this (.) um (.) you know I’m not so sure that the country he comes from is relevant (.) (mm) umm (.) but (.) you know the fact that there are a lot of volatile countries run by dictators is relevant (.) but you know how do I work with him and that would have been a useful you know discussion (.) (mm) um but they don’t-they didn’t do that did they?</p> <p>No but I have got some stuff on (.) some literature on post traumatic stress disorder that I can post you</p> <p>Thank you no I would love to read it (.) you know I’ve dug up some stuff myself (yeah) and actually I have (.) you know and he’s also in touch with an organisation in London that deals with victims of (mm) torture (.) and I’ve been in touch with them and I’ve had a chat (.) you know I now have you know but it would have been (.) helpful</p>
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35:00

But isn't this an example of where the training and the personal development are expected to combine (.) like the course is never (.) and it's certainly from our experience and certainly from hearing yours they are not going to be able (.) to teach you everything that you might need (.) (mm) when you are sat with a client (.) (no) so there is an element of having to (.) step up when and as you need to (.) (sure) to fill that in

but you know (.) if more stuff was (.) better integrated on a continuing basis (.) (mm) (mm) um into the training (.) umm so that you know (.) there was room to bring this in (.) or you know (.) I have a (.) lesbian client or you know whatever and you know to bring that in (0.5) um and if it was-what's the word I want here? More um intertwined

It's interesting because the fact it isn't integrated in that way (.) and the fact that it is (0.5) kind of normally well it seems to be in our course it sounds like it was a bit kind of bolted on as separate things (.) (mm) (mm) outside of the kind of main corpus of the teaching (.) um I mean does that (.) does that indicate that it's not really an integrated part of (.) counselling psychology (.) in it's theory and it's teaching per se?

I don't know there I mean there's a lot out there (.) there is a lot that has been written (.) (mm) so there is certainly counselling psychologists considering this stuff (.) (yeah) but whether it's still (but is it) but it's much more in the states then it is here (.) (yeah) much much more in the states (yea, yeah) than it is here so whether it's not that it's not regarded as sort of the meat and drink of counselling psychologists I don't know but whether its just too much of a (0.5) dangerous topic (.) to be kind of brought in you know it something that makes people feel too uncomfortable (.) (perhaps) I don't know

But I'm also thinking about actually (.) a 3 year doctorate can quickly turn into a 6 year doctorate (.) (mm) so they have to in some ways provide you with a foundation level of knowledge (.) which is as broad (.) and dare I say it as thin on the ground (mm) in some places as it is (.) (mm) in order to give you and plant the seeds for you to think well I need to know more about this (yeah) how can think about doing it?

Yeah (.) Yeah I guess so it's just it's but (1.5) is this (.) should this be more of a core thing I suppose is (.) (that's what we are asking) and should it be more integrated from the outset (.) um you know

	<p>I may not be expressing what I mean very clearly because point taken (.) um you know there are only so many hours in a day in a 3 year period (.) (mm) um but (.) (sighs) and I don't know quite how to explain what I mean better</p> <p>Is it to do with bringing-being able to bring stuff into the class so that when it becomes relevant there-there's a forum to say 'look this is what I am dealing with at the moment any thoughts'?</p> <p>Yeah or a lecturer who you know as a lecturer would have taken the time (mm) to think about some of this stuff (.) (yeah) for themselves (.) and so you know if somebody you know brought that in in a role play or a or a any kind of experiential learning (.) you know the lecturer was placed (.) to help address this part of their question (.) (mm)(mm) you know that's what I mean by interweaving it more (.) (okay) integrating it more (.) (mm) um I don't mean that we need to have a whole load of other lectures specifically on the topic of race and clients (mm) and stuff but</p> <p>Having a space you can take things if you want further (yeah) information</p> <p>Exactly (.) if you had lecturers who <u>had</u> done this thinking for themselves and we all tend to presume that they know a little more then we do (.) we'd like them to wouldn't we? (mm) (mm) Right so if they supposedly know a bit more then we do and have had more experience than we've had (.) um in you know considering various questions that (.) reflect on and influence your practice then (.) you know um that would be helpful (mm) I think (2.0)</p> <p>Yeah</p> <p>It's something that people in my year have kind of pushed to do so there's quite a few people with an interest in this who have sort of (.) brought it up in lectures and so when there's been and have kind of tried to bring it in (.) certainly I think it is definitely an area of interest (.) (mm) um (1.0) if that is relevant</p> <p>It's of interest to the trainees but (yeah) you know (not to them)</p> <p>Yeah so it's kind of pushing pushing in almost (.) trying to push it onto the agenda</p> <p>I wonder-I mean I wonder whether its because mostly because it is in North America where the (0.5) research and the people exist who are kind of (.)</p>
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<p>40:00</p>	<p>more interested that it hasn't bled in so much here yet (.) (mm) maybe that will change</p> <p>Maybe we have been living with a multi cultural society a lot longer (laughs) (yeah (.) yeah)</p> <p>Well no well (well) no you haven't-I don't (.) I don't think that is the case (1.0) actually (.) really (.) I mean if you look at the history of (0.6) Britain (.) (Normans and Saxons) yeah exactly I mean it's</p> <p>Well yeah if you want to go back to you know</p> <p>WELL NO I don't - <u>not</u> if you want to go back to it (0.5) (Saxons and Angelo's) but you don't have to go that far back (no its true actually) you know there was an empire for so long</p> <p>There was a huge there was a huge pop (.) actually it was very interesting (yeah) I was reading about this the other day there was a <u>huge</u> um Black population (.) er in England in the late 17th century (.) (mm) um who um at that time (.) they kind of disappeared (.) um and the interesting thing about that is that they didn't disappear (.) they just (.) became maceginated (mhmm) so it's like they didn't-It wasn't like they were a separate community they just disappeared into (.) (it wasn't remarked upon) the English population (okay) so yeah you know (okay)</p> <p>Yeah and I think that might be actually (.) you know one of the (.) the issues with this country is this (.) this thought that you know (.) John Major's view of England you know the warm pint of beer and the cricket on the (.) (mm) and the implication "and everyone's White"-you know the Midsummer murder's thing (mm) (mm) we're portraying (mm) English life well that's never been the case</p> <p>It hasn't really it hasn't (.) no I think you are absolutely right I think that's a (.) it is slight um misrepresentation (0.5) particularly in urban (0.7) (mm) areas (0.5) and mm (1.0)</p> <p><i>You've got about 5 or 10 minutes left so if you want to move a little bit towards the last question</i></p> <p>Yeah</p> <p>Yeah sorry got distracted</p>
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	<p>Okay so back to working with clients who are racially different (<i>mm</i>) from yourself (1.0)</p> <p>I don't think (.) I've worked with any clients (0.5) who (0.7) to my knowledge (0.5) were of the same ethnic background as me I think everybody I've worked with (.) differs from kind of all of my experience really (1.0)</p> <p>I don't think I've (0.8) worked with anyone who (0.5) oh no I think I've only had one client who (0.5) would be seen as ethnically different to me</p> <p>So that's kind of the opposite (<i>yeah</i>) situation yeah</p> <p>Yeah (1.0)</p> <p>It depends where your placement is really</p> <p>I moved back to London from **** because I was aware that I was only working with the same racial group (.) (<i>mm</i>) and I felt that in the future if I wanted to move around the country or locate elsewhere (.) that would be a real short straw (.) (<i>mm</i>) if I say I wanted to come back to London or the South East for whatever reason (.) because I do have an understanding of <u>how</u> diverse (.) the clients in this area are (.) and I think (.) last year 70% of my clients were of different (.) 70-80% were of a different ethnic race to myself (.) (<i>mm</i>) umm (.) and it certainly was one of the steepest learning curves I've had (.) (<i>mm</i>) about assuming a naïve position where you don't make assumptions (.) and you ask questions which sometimes they look at you as if you are ignorant (<i>mm</i>)</p> <p>I suppose about a third of the clients I've had have been (.) umm (.) racially different but what's interesting of course is that you know it's obvious I'm not from around here (.) (<i>mm</i>) and all my clients-nearly all umm (.) you know assumed that I had just got off the boat (.) umm and so they assume that I am culturally very- very (<i>mm</i>) different to them (.) In fact I've lived here 37years (.) (<i>mm</i>)(<i>mm</i>) and of course the other thing is is that apart from this Cherokee great grandmother in the 1830s (.) all my family are from the United Kingdom in the 1700s (.) so um you know coming here was very easy for me because culturally even in the 70s it was very much the same so (.) the thing is is that their assumption that I am culturally very different to them is completely incorrect (<i>mm</i>) (<i>mm</i>) on two fronts actually</p> <p>But I mean do you think that's the case at hand it's not so much about race it's more about culture? (.) Coz that's where I've found the bigger</p>
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45:00	<p>difference (2.0)</p> <p>I think-I mean I think that um (.) I obviously speak some words you know in this situation as I have one client who-who would be considered racially different to me (.) umm but I think that I have found much greater cultural differences (<i>mm</i>) in other clients who would be considered the <u>same</u> ethnicity as me (<i>mm</i>) than I have with him (.) umm and those (.) relate to things like probably education and probably what is perceived to be my class much more than (.) um my ethnicity- that-that I think (.) um and you know this is obviously in the context of not having had a huge amount of er ethnic diversity in my client group but that has been I'd say more of an issue than (.) yeah than than race and quite (.) and quite a big one sometimes actually</p> <p>Mmm and I think that (sighs) I think that's something that I mean it's something I bang my drum about that I would like to be discussed more in training is the whole whether it's class (<i>mm</i>) or socio-economic background (<i>mm</i>) whatever you want to call it (.) and like why aren't we talking about this (.) (<i>yeah yeah yeah</i>) because it's <u>huge</u> and in terms of prejudice in terms of assumptions (.) I mean I don't know if it's the same case for you **** but I hear accents (.) (<i>yeah</i>) and I'm going "public school?" (<i>yeah</i>) and I'm not (<i>yeah yeah yeah</i>) you know but you do all that and you know it's such an English thing to do</p> <p>You do-you do and your clients are doing it</p> <p><u>Exactly</u> and my clients are doing it and I think you know (.) unfortunately with what's (.) my prediction of this country is that you know (.) actually we are gonna-we're not gonna be having counselling psychologists from a broad range (<i>mm</i>) of socio-economic backgrounds it's only gonna get more expensive to do this course (.) (<i>mm</i>) and there is a big chance that it's gonna become you know an absolute sort of privileged profession (.) (<i>yeah yeah</i>) and so we <u>need</u> to be talking about (<i>yeah</i>) about it (.) and that probably has (.) as much or more of an impact on my work with clients than-than just skin colour absolutely</p> <p>I think that I think that's a really good point (.) I think-I think it is something which really needs to be talked about</p> <p>There's a big silence around it</p> <p>It's quite it is it's a big elephant (.) (<i>yeah</i>) sitting in the room I think sometimes</p>
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	<p>And that's not just to do with race I mean my research is with LGBT populations (.) (mm) and it's acknowledged that the sample populations they have (.) they haven't factored in socio-economic status (.) (mm) so where can we assume-and it does make a difference (mm) because you've got so many different resources available to you (.) (mm) (mm) so for instance you know (.) a well off Black African woman would be in a very different place to a Black African woman living on a council estate (.) (mm) (yeah true) and you know these are important things to take into consideration (.) (mm) but the research which is the foundation for all our knowledge omits it (mm) (mm)</p> <p>So much psychological research omits it because so much research is done on psychology students</p> <p>Yeah yeah true</p> <p>That's true</p> <p>I mean I think (0.7) yeah I mean I think it's as big if not a bigger issue (.) than race in this county (.) (mm) as a whole (.) actually</p> <p>I mean we now (.) sorry this is my huge I could bang a drum (yeah) about this for hours and I realise we're not talking about the experience of working with clients who are racially different to yourself (.) but the fact that it's acceptable to say 'Chav' (.) (yeah yeah) I find that (.) that shocks me but you wouldn't say the N word (.) (no) I won't say the N word (no of course) but I will refer to other people saying Chav (yeah) and its <u>so</u> offensive</p> <p>Yeah but it's-nd it's weird I think the reason is (.) well perhaps one of the reasons is that (.) you know it's easy to identify people of different race (.) (mm) it's kind of we can put everyone in a kind of much kind of neater group (.) (inaudible) (mm) because they are different colours (.) (mm) whereas people can sort of morph slightly more (.) you know it's a more- it's a more subtle judgement we make about someone's voice (.) (mm) or their vocabulary or what they are wearing (.) (mm) um and it's yeah (.) but I think you're right</p> <p>Going back to what **** said which is briefly backtracking a little (.) you know it is culture more than race (mm) because in Africa (.) you know lots of Black people (.) oh boy are Kenyans different to Nigerians (mm) umm</p>
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50:00	<p>Italians are White (.) but a very different culture to ours (.) (yeah) (yeah) (yeah) (yeah) a very different view of things (yeah)</p> <p>I think that's how I choose to work certainly in a socially constructed way with my clients who are of different racial (.) umm background-it's not the colour that I'm working with it is the culture that they bring (.) umm (0.5) and that's just that is how I make sense of their understanding</p> <p>I'm not a social constructionist (.) but to me it's the culture that they bring and how they individually have (.) grown responded to developed within that culture (.) for themselves (.) how they perceive that culture how they have taken on board this or that (mm) from their culture</p> <p>And the stories they make out of it to present who they are</p> <p>But at the same time though (.) I mean this may go against kind of some of the stuff that I've been saying (.) I think (0.5) that's our position (.) but we (0.7) I feel that it's important to acknowledge or maybe not acknowledge but to sort of conceive of a possibility that <u>other</u> people in our culture <u>don't</u> think like that and people <u>do</u> experience racism and having said what is RACE and it's meaningless (.) you know it is very meaningful I think if you're on (.) (mm) (mm) the receiving end of it and (.) and whilst I would never want to assume that somebody had experienced that (.) (mhmm) but sometimes I have found it incredibly powerful to bring that into the room (.) in two instances (.) and it was probably the scariest thing I have ever done in therapy (.) and I was working with um a Black South African woman who's kind of (.) has been in Britain since about the age of 11 and we were working on low self esteem using Padesky's prejudice model (.) um you know a kind of way of conceiving of talking about low self esteem and it's you know how is prejudice maintained (.) and you know you believe the bad stuff about somebody and you ignore the good stuff and all this kind of thing (.) and I said but I'm guessing you probably know more about this than I do (.) and it was-and it was like I said that-I had brought this into the room and she went God yes (.) and I don't know what you want to call it our therapeutic relationship our bond was <u>so much</u> stronger (mm) because I had said you-you-you know you've experienced racism (.) I think you've experienced racism and she went yeah I have and let's talk about it in those terms (.) (mm) so (.) you know (.) culturally she is British/South African (.) you know from a village and then from North London (.) but to acknowledge that race had been part of her experience was (yes) really big</p>
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	<p>Yeah so you can acknowledge that race has an effect on people (yeah) even if it doesn't theoretically exist (yeah)</p> <p>Yeah absolutely and to sort of say you know I'm not seeing the colour (mm) I'm seeing the culture (mm) well (.) it's kind of well good for us (mm) but (laughs)</p> <p>Lots of people don't (yeah) and this is the world (yeah yeah) we live in</p> <p>Yeah (yeah) and to not kind of live in the kind of (.) everyone's sort of nice and White liberal (mm) you to acknowledge that's quite powerful I think</p> <p>Well the-the-the client who has been tortured I suspect (.) that umm one of the reasons filed-that one of the reasons he's been tortured is that he is a different (.) um sect of a major religion (mhmm) to the governing (.) (mhmm) people in his country (.) you know so um (.) you know I have no doubt that he has plenty to say about that sector (mm) of the religion (0.6) um and you know that's fine but (.) you know at the same time I don't know that yet (no no) so you know I'm gonna just let him tell me (.) (mm)(yeah yeah) what he feels is important (.) (yeah) um but (.) you know (.) at the same time as you say assuming though that somebody has been the victim of prejudice or racism (.) you know probably isn't helpful at all</p> <p>Well you're turning someone into a victim if you do that</p> <p>yeah (.) and just like assuming they haven't been (yes) (yeah) or assuming they have been (yeah) just because they are Black (.) (yeah) (yeah) (mm) umm you know kind of is like that lecturer who said "don't think all Black people voted for Obama"</p> <p>Yeah (yeah) yeah</p> <p>So again it's about (.) not coming in-it's coming in without assumptions (.) regardless of the colour or (yeah) ethnic or culture or age of the person</p> <p>But but</p> <p>But but</p> <p>But maybe have (.) having (0.7) educated yourself (yeah) in some way (.) (with something) if there is a possibility that (.) something</p>
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	<p>exists which <u>is</u> kind of culturally different to you (.) (<i>mm, I</i>) so it's giving yourself the opportunity (.) to know more if that does exist</p> <p>In the past in order to do that when I've worked for people who I know nothing about their culture (.) I have Wikipedia'd it (.) (<i>mm</i>) which I know sounds really basic really (0.7) perhaps really dismissive of the richness of what the person's coming from but just to give me a sense of understanding (.) right ok this is the political situation (<i>mhmm</i>) is it stable is it not (.) where do women sit in this frame-where do men sit in this framework (<i>mm</i>) you know umm (.) religion what is the major religion and what is the major language (<i>mm</i>)</p> <p>Why is it dismissive you took the trouble to find out you were interested?</p> <p>Dismissive in that perhaps for somebody (.) who was coming into the room who expected me to know more-I'm thinking of this particular client who placed me as an expert (.) my lack of knowledge was seen as being dismissive and ignorant (.) (<i>mm</i>) rather than the position I was <u>trying to</u> assume was one where (.) I could read and read and read about your culture but it would still tell me nothing about you (.) (<i>mm mm</i>)</p> <p>Which I think is a fair enough comment (.) umm although I also think that you know first of all it shows initiative and (.) your interest in the client (<i>mm</i>) to want to find out something about their culture (.) I mean you know I went online and I've been reading about all the particular favoured methods of torture in this particular country (<i>sighs</i>) (.) and I've learnt about white torture which I hadn't known about before (.) umm because in this country torture is actually against the law (0.5) but they do it anyway (.)</p> <p>That sounds like here</p> <p>Yeah (.) its really interesting</p> <p>It sounds like the British Government</p> <p>(<i>general laughter</i>)</p> <p>Yeah white torture (.) umm they put you in a white cell no windows (.) you are dressed in white-everything is white you get white food to eat the lights on all the time (.) so it's sensory deprivation but it's a new twist on it (1.0) (<i>mm</i>) (<i>on a massive grand scale</i>) and you know so if he tells me about that because it is a favoured method there (.) then you know I will already have some (.) context (<i>mm</i>) for what it is (.) so I'm glad I looked it up</p>
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<p>55:00</p>	<p>Yeah (.) (<i>mm</i>) I'm thinking almost like the IPA thing where you read around (.) and then you bracket that knowledge before you do the interview (.) (<i>mm</i>) so you have that there (.) but then you don't make the assumptions (<i>just in case</i>) in the room so you can feed on it (.) (<i>yeah</i>) so it can inform what you are doing (.) but you're not going in going "well I know where you are from so I know exactly what is gonna of happened to you and what you think about women" da-da-da-da-da no (.) but your going "if this comes up (.) then at least I know a little bit about what you are talking about</p> <p>Yes you are using that filter of (.) reflection (.) (<i>mm</i>) and awareness of yourself (.) before you make assumptions (.) or without making assumptions but then yeah</p> <p><i>You can wind it up folks</i></p> <p>Mmm</p> <p>END</p>
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